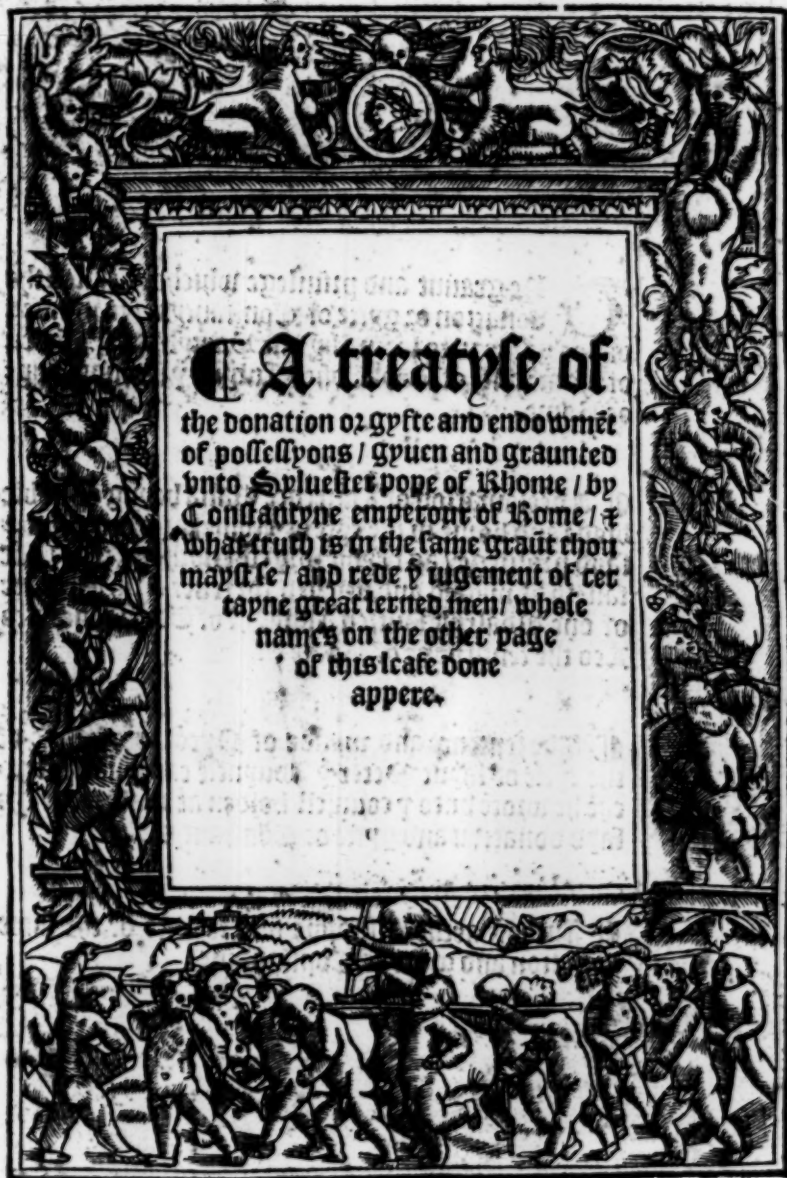


W. Herbert
1772.



The graunt and prsuilege whiche is called the
donation or gyfte of Constantync/ translated
out of greke in to laren / by one Bartylmewe Dicern
of the mounte of Ardue vnto Iulysus the seconde/ pope
of Rome.

A declamation of Laurence Walla beyng of noble
blode and bozne in the cyte of Rome/ agaynst the for-
sayd prsuilege / as beyng lorged a nothyng true / but
falsely admytted and beleued for true/ with a preface
of one Wdalryk Butten a knyght of Germaine vnto
Leo the tenth pope of Rome.

The sentence and mynde of Nicolas of Cuse of
the cyte of saynt Peter & Adupncle cardynall / whi-
che he wrote vnto the counsell holden at Basyle / of the
sayd donation and gyfte of Constantyne.

Antony archebysshoppe of florence of the same
donation and gyfte of Constantyne.

The pꝛeface

The pꝛeface oꝝ pꝛheme of Bartholomewe Dycern
of the hyghe mountayne/ vnto Pope Iulys the se-
conde/ vpon the pꝛiuylege/ called the gyfte oꝝ graunt
of the emperoure Constantyne/ whiche pꝛiuylege the
sayd Bartholomewe assyrmeth with fast alleueratp
on hym selfe to haue trālated out of greke into laten.

Whan among other/ dyuers and sondꝛe woꝝ
kes/ whiche of late dayes I dyd rede most
blessed father/ in this your most famous &
goodly lybrary/ there came vnto my hādes
a certayne lytell Greke boke / whiche contayned the
gyfte oꝝ graunt of Constantyne: I thought it mete &
cōuenyent to translate it out of greke in to latyn/ and
also y I ought to dedycate oꝝ entytile it to your most
holy fatherhed/ whiche are the deputie of Christ/ and
of Peter/ and the succelloure also of Syluester/ foꝝ be
cause there be many men whiche haue sayde and wyl
abyde by it / that thys gyfte oꝝ graunte of Constans-
tyne is false/ counterfeyted & fayned/ amonge whom
Laurēce Walla is one/ a man surely well lerned/ whi-
che pꝛesūtuousli hath taken in hāde to wꝛite a boke of
the false & forged gyfte of Constantyne. But his oppo-
nyons very well relysteth and gaynsayth the moste re-
uerende Cardynall of Alexandrie / excellently lerned
and substācially sene in both lawes/ & also very dily-
gently confuteth and dyssolueth the objections made
by the sayd Laurēce. Parauenture that great clerke
Walla supposed that y thyng whiche he hym selfe had
nat redde/ coulde in no place haue ben founde among
other men. And no meruayle therof/ seig that he was
a man of so gret moꝝdacite. and all gyuen to checkig
that he hath nat ben afrayde to checke and rebuke Ari-
stotle the chefe and pꝛyncipall of all Philosophers/ y
and also / so to fynde fautes with all y authoꝝs of the
laten tonge / that he hath forborne no man.

But lest I be to tedypous: lette ys
nowe lyften/ and here
what Constantyne hym
selfe saythe.

A. ii.

The

The decree of Cōstantyne

The decree imperiall written & gyuen to the woꝝ
shypfull and holy Catholyke and apostolycall church
of Rome / by blessed Constantyne / the fyrste amonge
the emperours that became Christen.



In the name of the holy and vnsepara-
ble Trinite / I is to wytte / the father
the sonne / and the holy ghost. Cæsar
Flautus Constantyne / in Christ Iesu
of I same Trinite our only sauour
oure lord / and our god / the faythfull
mylde / and benefycall Emperour of Almayne / of
Gothia / of Sarmatia / of Germanie / of Britayne /
and of the Dunnes / godly / prosperous / or fortunate
conquerour / and triumpher / alwayes honorable and
full of maiestye : to the moste holy and blessed father
of fathers / Syluester / byshoppe and Pope of the
auncient and noble cyte of Rome. And to all bisshop-
pes the successours of hym / lyttinge in the chayre of
blessed Peter / euyn vntyll the ende of the worlde.

Also to all most reuerende and deuout catholyke bys-
shoppes subiectes / by this our emperall cōstytution
to this worshipfull and holy church of Rome: Grace
peace / loue / ioye / constaunt mynde / and mercy from
almighty god / bothe the father / and Iesu Christ his
sonne / and also the holyghost be with vs all. Suche
thinges as hath ben wonderfully wrought about our
owne persone / by our redemer and sauour the lord
Iesu Christ / whiche is the sonne of the most high fa-
ther in heuyn / through his mercies / by his holy apo-
stels Peter and Paule / and throughe the meane and
intercessyon of our father Syluester / the highest bis-
shoppe and catholyke or vniuersall pope. We haue
purposed and desyred to shewe in order with many-
fest narration / by this oure emperiall writte / that it
may come hereafter to the knowlege of all people and
nations whiche are in the worlde / that the confessyon
and knowlegig of I reuelation shewed vnto vs most
mekely procedeth from within / & from the very hert.

✱ And fyrste it sheweth and declareth outwardely
our

The decree of Constantyne

Our fayth and belefe/ whiche we haue learned of the a
fozsayd most blessed father and our intercessour Syl
uester Catholyke pope chiefe and highest preest/ to the
document and instruction of vs all. Secondly it
sheweth also to all men the large mercy of god/ whi
che he hath plētuously poured and shedde forth vpon
vs. For we wyll y all you do knowe/ euen so as we
haue declared vnto you by our pragmatycall consti
tution afozesaide/ that we haue renounced and bitterly
fozaken the worschyping of ydols/ whiche are dombe
and deafe and made with mannes hande/ and that we
are lepte away from the deuillys the saynings & false
ymaginatyons/ and from all the pompe of Sathan/
and are humbly descended to the hole and partyte pu
re saythe of christen men/ whiche is the trewe lyght
and lyfe eternall/ as oure hyghe and most reuerende
father and maister Syluester/ him selfe hath taught
vs/ comaundyng vs to beleue on god the father al
myghty maker of heuyn and of earthes/ of all creatu
res visyble & vniuisyble/ and on Iesu Christ the onely
begotten sone of him/ our lord/ by whome all thynges
haue ben created & made/ and on the holy ghost that
quickeneth and gyueth lyfe to euery creature. We do
so and in suche wyse confesse and knowedge the father
the sonne/ and the holy ghost/ as that in the persyte
Trinite is bothe the perfectyon of the godhed/ and
vnyte of power and myght. The father is god/ the
sonne is god/ the holyghost is god/ and these thre per
sones are all one substance. Thre formes than ar ther
and but onely one power. Than after that he hadde
fynysshed the creatyon of the heuenly powers/ & of
all erthely materiall substāces: by y mercifull power
and wyll of his wysedome/ he fyrst formed man of the
lyme of the earth/ resemblaunt to the ymage and
symyltude of his owne selfe. And after he had so fo
rmed him/ he set him in paradyse a place of pleasure/
at whom and whose felycite the serpent & olde enemy
the deuyl haupng enuy/ through the most bytter & my
serable tastyng of the frute of a tre fozbydden/ caused

A. iii.

hym

The decree of Cōstantyne

hi to be outlawed & banysshed from that myrth/ ioye/ and pleasure. And after he hadde caused hym so to be expelled from thence/ he ceaseth nat by his mortyferous & dedly dartes/ many maner wayes to woude other men/ to thende y he myght drawe away mankynde from the waye of the trouth/ and perswade all men and bryg them in mynde to be seruauntes to the worschyping of ydoles/ that is to say/ of the creatures and nat of the creator and maker of them/ to thetent that whom so euer he shall be able by his craftyegyles to blynde/ & to entangle in his snares/ he maye cause them to be ponyshed with eternall payne. But god takig mercy & tēdre pyte vpon his creature/ who his owne selfe had formed and made / sente his holye prophetes / and by them shewed and gaue knolege of the lyght of lyfe/ that is to wytte/ the comyng of his sonne/ our lord/ and sauyour god/ Jesu Chryst. And last of all he sent also his onely begotten sone the worde of wysedome/ whiche came downe from heuyn for our helthe and saluatyon/ & was begotten of the holy ghost/ and of the vyrgyn Mary. The worde of god was made man/ and hath dwelled among vs/ nat leauyng that / which he was before / but takyng on hym to be / that that he was nat before / that is to wytte/ beynge both partyte god / so as he was before / & partyte man also/ whiche he was nat before. And as god he wrought miracles and wonders / and as man / he suffred and beare the infymytes belongyng to the nature of man. Thus we vnderstande the worde of sonne of god to be man / and the same worde also to be god. And it is in nowyse to be douted/ that y same is both very god and very man/ accordyng to the doctryne and teachyng of our father Syluester. he than chosyng. xii. Apostles gaue to them the lyght of knolege/ and power to worke miracles & strange thynges aboue the course of nature / that by them innumerable people myghte be taught and brought to belefe of the traethe. We confesse & knowlege/ that this our lord Jesu Chryste hath fulfilled the lawes and the

The decree of Constantyne

prophetes/ and that he suffred passyon / and was crucified fufyllig the fcriptures/ that he dyd ryle agayn from deathe the thyrde daye/ and that he ascended into heuyn / and there dothe fyte on the ryght hande of the father / and that from thence he shall come to iudge both quicke and dedde/ whole kyngdome shall neuer haue ende. Thys is our trewe and ryght belefe/ shewed and tolde before to vs / by oure moost blessed father Syluester. we do therfore aduertise and counsaile all people/ and all maner of nationes/ to embrace and holde faste this sayth/ to haue it in honour/ exercise it/ to teache and preche it/ and in the name of the holy trinite/ to come vnto the gyfte of baptisme/ and with a reuerent herte and mynde to worshyppe and honour our lord and sauour Iesu Christ / whiche with the father and the holyghoit/ raygneth wordes without ende. And whome oure moost blessed father Syluester Catholyke and vniuersall pope or hedde preest doth preche & teche for the very same lord Iesu christ hauyng pite & compassion vpon me a sinner/ dyd sende his holy Apostles to dyscuss vs / and hathe illumynated and lyghtened vs with the lyght of his brightnesse / and withdraue and takyng away darknesse/ hathe vouchsafed / me to come to the knowledge of the trauth/ for a great foule and abhominable leprosie was come ouer all the fleshe of my body/ and many leches & physycions resortyng vnto me/ dyd theyr uttermost cure to haue heled me/ but yet coude I nat by the labour or dyligence of any of them optayne remedy of my dyscase / and to be made hole. & Welsydes this ther came to me also the preestes of the Capitoly house sayng that a Cestene myght be made in the capitoly house / and be fylled with the hote blode of innocentes/ and that I must be bathed therein/ by whiche bathinge (they sayde) I myght recouer helthe/ and be censed from that foule and horrible dyscase/ accordyng therfore to the counsailes of them/ whan many innocent younglynges and babes were sought and brought together / and the wycked and cruell preestes without
all pay

The decree of Cōstantyne

all pyte/ wolde haue cutte the thzotes of them/ and so
with the blode of them haue fylled the cesterne : our
gratpoufe highnesse with tendre pytie beholdyng the
lamentable wepyng and waylyng of their mothers/
forthwith dyd abhorre & deedly hate that/ so abhomy
nable and cruell dede. And I than hauyng tendre cō
passyon vpon the sayde women / cōmaunded the chyl
dren to be deliuered agayne to the remothers/ and let
tyng them haue waggans/ and suche other thynges
mete for the cōpyage of their chyliden/ and also gūig
them gifies: sent them agayne ioyous and gladd to
their owne houses and dwellyng places. Whan this
day was ended and past/ and restyng tyme of the ny
ght came on / and oportunyte prouoked me to slepe/
and to take rest : todaynly the holy Apostels Peter
and Paule were harde by me / and sayd these wordes
to me. Bicause thou dyddest nat suffre the preestes to
performe theyr synfull purpose / but dyddest abhorre
the effucion and shedyng of innocētes blode : we are
sent to the from Christ our lord and god/ to gyue the
counsaille/ howe/ and by what meanes thou shalt re
couer thy helth / harken therfore to our message / and
do that thyng whiche we do counsaile and teche the
to do. The bysshope of this cyte/ Syluester/ slepyng
the persecutyons : hath hydde secretely in denues of
stones / with hys clerkes/ in the mount of Soracte.
This Syluester thou shalt cause to be fetched vnto
the/ and by his instruction thou shalt learne & knowe
the trewe cesterne of Christes professyon/ in the whi
che cesterne after that thou shalt be dypped thyse : all
the payson of thy leprye shall leue the and go clere fro
the / whiche thyng done : make thou agayne of thy
parte / thys recompence to thy sauour / that by thy
cōmaundimentes thou do renewe all the churches in
the worlde/ and in this behalfe/ purge and clense thou
thyne owne selfe / that forsakyng all the wretchedde
worshyppe of ydoles: thou mayste loue/ honour/
and worshyppe onely hym / whiche alone is the ly
uynge and the trewe God / and fulfille his wyll
and

The decree of Constantynē

and pleasure. Than whā I was wakened out of my slepe/ I dyd eyn so as I was taught of the Apostels to do / and sendyng for the heyghest & moſte excellent father Sylueſter/ Catholyke Pope / whiche hath illumynated vs / & gyuen vs lyght. I declared to him all the wordes/ that the holy Apostels hadde ſayd to me/ and what they had bydden me do/ and I demaūded of him what goddes they were/ which are called Peter and Paule. And he ſayde/ that they were nat properly called goddes: but he ſayde/ that they were Apostels of our lord and ſauour Jeſu Chriſt.

I began than agayne to demaūde of the ſame moſt bleſſed Pope / whether there were any partyte & euident ymages of theſe Apostels / that by the pyctures myght knowe/ if it were poſſyble / that they were the very ſame/ whom we lerned them to be by reuelation. Than that father woꝛthy of all reuerēce/ cōmaunded the ymages of theſe holy Apostels to be brought to me/ by his owne propre deacon and myniſter/ whiche whan I behelde & paceued in the ymages very well the aspectes and lykneſſe of them / whom I had ſene in my ſlepe / with a great loude voyce I confeſſed in the preſence of my dukes and noble eſtates/ that theſe were the very ſame perſones/ whome I ſawe in my ſlepe. Than forthwith this our moſte bleſſed father Sylueſter/ byſhop of the cyte of Rome/ apoynted to vs a certeyn tyme of penaūce/ in which I ſhuld weare a ſherete of heare within our palyce of Laterane / that we myght pacifye oꝛ appeaſe the wꝛathe of our lord god and our ſauour/ for all thynges which hath ben wickedly wꝛought/ and vniuſtly done by vs: with faſtynges/ watchynges/ wepynges/ and prayers.

Afterwardes/ clerkes layeng their hādes vpon me/ I came to the pope hym ſelfe/ and there renouncyng the pompes of the deuyl and his woꝛkes/ & all ydols made with mannes hande: I confeſſed of myne owne free wyll / in preſence of all the people / that I beleue in one god father almighty/ maker of heuyn and of erthe/ of all a viſyble and inuiſyble thynges. And in one lord Jeſu Chriſt/ the onely begoten ſon of god/ our

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our lord/ which was begotten of the holyghost/ and
of Mary the virgyn. Than after that he had halo-
wed the fonte oz lauacre of baptyme/ with his holy
blellyng/ he purifyed the water whiche was therein to
putte. In to the which fountayne oz baptisoury so sone
as I was sette/ I sawe with my owne eyes a hande
touchyng me from heuyn/ by which hande (whan I
rofe vp) I perceyued and knewe my selfe to be clēsed
and purifyed from all the foulness and vncleynesse of
leprie. And whan they had taken me out of that holy
bathe/ they dyd putte on me whyte garmentes. and
he gaue me the carecte oz marke of y^e leuenfolde grace
of the holy ghost/ by a noyntyng me with holy oyle.
& he marked the sygne & token of the holy crosse in my
forhed/ sayng thele wordes: God sealeth oz marketh
the with y^e seale of his sayth/ in the name of the father
and of the sonne/ & of the holyghost/ and all the clergy
answēred/ and sayd. Amen. And the pope sayde also
Pax tibi. Peace be to the. The fyrst day after that I
had receyued the sacrament of holy baptyisme/ & that
I was cured & healed in my body fro lepie. I knewe
that there is none other god/ be sydes the father/ and
sonne/ and holyghost/ whome the most blessed father
Syluester preacheth. iiii. persones in one god. and
one god in. iiii. persones: for all the goddes of the gen-
tyles and panyms/ whome I haue honoured here to
fore/ are manifestly shewed and declared to be deuyls
and the workes of mennes handes. Than the sayde
holy father him selfe playnly declared to vs/ how gre-
ate power and authoꝛyte the same our sauour hath
gyuen to his cholen Apostell blessed Peter/ bothe in
heuyn and in earth/ whan after that he hadde founde
him saythfull in answeyng to his demaūde/ he sayd
to him. Thou arte Peter/ and vpon this stone I wyl
bylde my churche/ and the gates of hell shall nat pre-
uaile agaynst it. Consyder you men of great power
and myght/ and attende and take good hede with the
eares of your hertes and myndes/ what y^e good mai-
ster and lord added moze besydes this to his owne
disciple/ sayng. And I wyl gyue to the: the keyes
of the

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of the kyngdome of heyn/ & what so euer thou shalt
bynde vpon erthe/ it shalbe bounden also in heyn.

* This is a marueylous worde and full of power/
bothe to bynde & lose so vpon erthe/ & the same shalbe
bounden and losed lyke wyse in heyn. We therfore
haupng knowlege of these thynges/ by thynstruction
of blessed Syluester/ and partecyung or felyng par-
fytte helth/ to be comen agayne to our body/ through
the benefyence of the same blessed Peter: thought &
iuged it mete and accordeinge our selfe with all other
dukes/erles/ and our counsaylours/ and the other no-
ble estat/ and also with the hole people beyng vnder
the dominion of the empyre of Rome/ that as blessed
Peter appereth to haue ben constytuted/ ordayned/ &
made by the sonne of god his deputie in erthe/ so lyke
wyse the succellours of the prync of the Apostels shul-
de take and receyue of vs and of our empire/ gretter
prerogatyue of power gyuen to them/ than our lre-
nite and also empire is knowen of all men to haue in
erthe/ for we haue electe and chosyn the prync of A-
postels hym selfe/ and his trewe succellours/ to be
patrons and intercellours for vs to god/ and we ha-
ue decreed to honour and worshyppe with reuerence
his sacredde and holy church of Rome: eyn so as
our emperyll power is worshypped in erthe/ & to ex-
alte the most holy see of blessed Peter/ more than our
owne empyre and tēporall dignyte/ gyueng to it po-
wer & preferment of royaltie/ strength/ and effycacie
and hyghe honour emperyll. And we decree & esta-
blyshe/ that it haue the dominion & chiefe gouernaūce
vpon the foure chiefe and principall sees: Antioche/
Alexandrie/ Constantinople/ and Jerusalem. Also
vpon all the cōgregatiōs & churches of god/ through-
out the hole worlde. and the bisshoppe of that hyghe
and holy church of Rome for the tyme beyng/ to be
principall and heed of all pcestes whiche are in the
hole worlde/ and that all thynges wherof cure ought
to be taken for the worshyppng of god/ or the corro-
boratyng and enstrengthyng of the chrysten fayth/ be
gouerned and ordered by the iugement of him/ for it

The decree of Cōstantyne

is ryght that the heed of power & principalyte shulde there haue his holy lawes and ordynaunces : where oure saupoure the maker of holy lawes / cōmaunded saynt Peter to haue the chayre of his apostelschyppe / and where Peter him selfe folowynge his maister and lord bare his crosse drynkyng that bytter draughte of glorious deathe. ⁊ There continually and euen to the ende of the worlde / lette them seche their maister where the holy body of their maister resteth. There let people & natiōs of paynims bowe downe their neckes for þe confession & knowleging of the name of Christ where their maister & teacher the apostel Paule stretchyng forth his necke for Christes sake / was crowned with the garlonde of martyrdome. There & in that place / lette them humbly and lowlye submytte them selues to the obsequite and seruyce of god the heuynly kynge / and sauynt Iesu Christe : where before they dyd seruyce to the proude power of an erthely kynge or gouernour. For whych causes and cōsideratiōs / we wyll that all people throughe out the worlde doo knowe that we within our palyce of Laterane / haue buylded a temple / to the honour of god our suaioure and lord Iesu Christ : euen fro the very fōundation with a fonte to baptyse in. And knowe you also / that we did beare out from thence vpo our owne sholders xii. bas kettes full of erthe in the worshippe of the. xii. Apostels beyng. xii. also in nombze. and we haue also edifyed churches in the honour of blessed Peter & Paule the chiefe apostels / goodly decked & garnysched with golde and syluer / where also we buryeng the most holy and worshipfull bodyes of them with grete reuerence haue buylded and made them shrynes of ambze / suche as neither fyre ne water can destroy. And we haue putte in throughe eyther of the shrynes a crosse made of most pure golde & of precyous stones / and haue fasted it with nayles of golde. And to the same churches / for the contynuaunce & mayntynance of lyghtes within þe same : we haue gūe possessions and landes / and by our emperypall & heyghe cōmaūde / ment / we haue graūted to them our lyberte in the east and

The decree of Constantyne

and west / and in the northe and southe clymates / that
is to witte / in Furye / in Alpa / Grece lande / Aphrike /
Italye / and in dyuerse ylelandes / in suche maner and
wyle / that all maner thynges shall be dysposed and
ordred by the handes of our moost blessed father pope
Syluester and his successours. Lette all people ther
fore reioyce with vs / we admonyshe and counsaile
all kyndes of people and nations in the worlde / that
they confesse and gyue infynite thanks with vs to
oure sauour Iesu Christ / for that he beyng god in
heyn aboue / and in erth vnderneath / whan he had by
syted vs by his holy apostles : made vs worthy to re
ceyue the holy sacramente of baptyfme / and helthe of
our body / for the whiche thynges / also we gyue to the
holy apostles selues & my lordes most blessed Peter &
Paule / and by them to Syluester our father & hygh
est byshoppe and catholyke pope of the cyte of Rome
and to all bysshoppes his successours syttinge in the
chaire of blessed Peter / eyn vnto thende of the worl
de / and at this presente tyme do delyuer vp / fyrst the
palace of Laterane our emperyall place which is the
most royall and goodly palace (surmounting all other
palaces) that ar in the worlde. Next after it our dyas
deme / that is to saye / the crowne belongyng to oure
heed. Lykewise we delyuer vp our phrygiu / that is to
saye y^e which is called of the Romayns mitra. Further
more oure suphumerall / I meane that whiche is put
about our emperyall necke . Also a purple robe and a
purple coote / and all the indumentes and apparayle
belongyng to an emperour / and the dygnyte of the
emperyall knyghtes and lordes goynge before hym /
geuyng moreouer to him the emperyall sceptres / and
therewith also the armes and badges / and dyuerse or
namentes emperyall / and all the gloze and power
of the most hyghe emperyall maiestie / in pompes and
processyons / and to the moost reuerende men clerkes
after dyuerse ordres and degrees / seruyng this wor
shipfull and holy church of Rome. We ordaine decre
and establishe / that they haue that attendaunce and
propertye of power and preheminence / with all the glo

B

rye and

The Decree of Constantyne

rie & maiestie / wherwith our mooste noble senatoures
are sene to be adourned / that is to saye / that they be
made lordes of the cytie and heed offycers. * Also we
publyshe and openly pronounce / that they be adourned
with the other dygnyties emperypall / and as the
emperiall host oz armye is adourned: eyn so also we
haue decreed / that the clergie of the churche of Rome
be decked and adourned / and lykewylse as the emper
ypall power and maiestie is put to honoure with dy
uerse offyces of chaüberlaynes / porters / and watche
men oz garde : so we wyl / that the holpe churche of
Rome be decked and garnyshe with þe same offices.
And we decree / that the dygnytie of the pope mooste
largely do shyne aboue all other / and that the prestes
of the same holpe church of Rome / do ryde vpon hoz
ses trapped with napkyns / and fyne whyte towels of
lynen clothe / and as our senatoures do weare shoes /
Cum vdonibus : that is to say / adourned with most
whyte linnen clothe : eyn so we wyl them to be / that
the heuenly thynges maye so be decked & garnyshe
lyke the erthly thynges / to the prayse and honour of
god. And aboue all / we gyue lycence to that our most
holpe father Syluester / byshoppe of the cyte of Ro
me / and pope / and to all other moost blessed popes /
whiche shall in tymes herafter succede him / for the ho
nour and glozy of our lordes Jesu Christ / in this gret
Catholyke oz vniuersall power . if he be wyllynge
to recken oz accompte ony of oure circumspecte sena
tours / amonge relygious clerkes : that none of them
which are called ther vnto thzough pride / shall make
excuse / oz refuse to take this ozdre. We ozdayne and
establishe this also / that the father Syluester / pope
wozthye all maner reuerence / and all popes his suc
cessours / ought to weare the dyademe / that is to say
the crowne / which we do gyue to him from our owne
heed / made of most pure and fyne gold and pretiouse
stones and perles / and to weare it on their hedes to
the gloze of god / for the reuerence of blessed Peter.
And bycause the most blessed pope himself hath ben a
shamed to were the crowne of gold vpon the crowne
of

The decree of Constantyne

of his priesthod / and on the tonsure or shauynge of
his heed / whiche he hath for the reuerence of saynte
Peter : we therfore with our owne handes haue put
on his moost holy heed / this phrygium / representyng
and sygnifyeng the most bryght whyte coloure of it /
the gloypouse resurrection of our lord / and holding
the bydle of his horse / for the reuerence of blessed
Peter : we haue couered his horse . And we do or-
dayne and decree / that all his successeurs / eche one
of the after other / do weare the same phrygium in pro-
cessions to the ymitation & folowing of our empire /
wherfore þ the high dignite of þ pope debate nat / but
that he beyng worthy / may be decorated & adourned
both with gloype and power more than onye earthly
kyng or gouernour . Beholde here we gyue bp as
we haue sayde afoze / our palace / & the cyte of Rome
and the prouinces / places / and the cyties of all Italy
and of the west regyons / to the oft reherled our most
blesed father Syluester Catholyke pope / and relea-
synge them to the power and iudgement of him and
of his successeurs popes . We haue decreed by our
diuine pragmaticall constitution / that they be dispo-
sed by the same popes / and we graunte theym to re-
mayne and contynue alwayes to the right and tytle
of the holpe churche of Rome / wherfore we haue iu-
ged it conuenient and accordyng / to translate our
empire / and the glorie thereof / to the East regions /
and buyldyng in the cytie Byzantium (whiche is a
verye good place) a cytie in our owne name : there to
constitute and sette our empire / thynkyng it vnmete /
vnsemylye / and agaynst right / that any erthlye kyng
shulde haue any power and auctoryte ther / where the
chefe prelacte of prestes / and the heed of the Christen
relygion / hath ben constituted and ordayned to be /
by the heuenly kyng . These thynges therfore by this
our and sacred writte and other emperyal decrees
determined / and corroborated : we haue ordayned
and decreed to contynue in full strengthe / and nat to
be reuoked neither in the hole / neither in anye parte
of them / vnto the ende of the worlde : wherfore afoze

Gyuing of
the palace
and cyte of
Rome.

The decree of Constantyne

the lyving god / whiche hath comaunded and wylled
vs to gouerne & raigne/ and afore his terrible & drede
full iugement. We besech all our successours the em-
perours/ all our dukes & noble estates: also the most
worthyfull senatours/ and all the people whiche be
in the hole worlde: that none of them in any maner
wyse neither now/ neither in any tyme to come/ doo
breke oꝝ mynyshe this our graunt oꝝ priuilege in/ ony
poynte therunto belonging. And if any man shall be
(which thinge we do nat suppose) that shall either
breke/ oꝝ contemne & despyce this our decree: subiecte
& bonde lye he to eternall cōdemnations, and I pray
god that he may synde & fele the sayntes of god and
chefe apostles Peter & Paule / contrary & aduersaries
to him/ and punished be he in the lowest and depest
pitte of hell/ & banished be he for euer from the syght
of god/ and eternally mought he dye with the deuphl
and all wicked men. we also roboratig & strengthing
letters patentes of this our epervall decree with our
owne hande: haue layde it vp our selfe vpon the ho-
norable corpe oꝝ body of blessed Peter prince & chefe
of the apostles/ promysing ther to the apostle of god/
that we our selfe wyll kepe all these thynges partyly
in euery poynte/ and also that by our cōmaundement
and decree we do leue them to be obserued & kepte of
our successours that shalbe emperours/ and y they
shall(our lord god & sauiour Iesu Christ mercifully
grauntyng) remayne perpetually/ prosperously/ and
peasably/ in posselsyō to our blessed facher Siluester
and Catholyke pope/ & by him to all his successours
popes/ by our imperiall subscriptyon. The godheed
conserue and kepe you many yeres and longe / moost
holy and most blessed fathers. yeuē at Rome/
the. xxv. day of february / our lord

Flavius Constantinus

Augustus and

Gallycanus, &c.

¶ Here endeth the decree of Constantyne.

The

The p̄face of Adalric Huten

The p̄face of Adalric Huten / vpon the lytell booke made by Laurence Walla / agaynst the fayned and falsely forged donation oꝝ gyfte of Constantyne / vnto pope Leo the tenth of that name.

A the last moſte bleſſed father / your noble & comfortable promiſe / whiche by your cōmā dement was expreſſed / publiſſhed / & ſet forth at the very begynnig / whan you were newly made po pe: hath vanquiſhed & perſutely ouerco the opinyon of thoſe perſones / whiche dyd diſſwade & frayde men away from publiſſhyng and ſendyng forth abrode of the lytell boke made by Laurence Walla / agaynst the donation and graunt of Cōſtantyne / foꝝ now ſeyng that you haue ones cauſed that marcyall triumphe to kepe ſylence / wherewith pope Iulij the ſeconde pronok ed & ſtyzed by men to warre & batayle / and as it wer by ſtryping a cymbale of peace / haue raiſed by the her tes & myndes of all chriſten people / vnto the hoope of liberte: All men do reckon & ſuppoſe / that them ſelues may vſe all thynges / which they knowe to be laufull. And I verily of my parte / albeit that I was afore p ſwaded & in full belefe / if it ſhuld fortune & chaūce you to haue this moſt high auctoꝝite & gouernaynce ouer all / foꝝ almoſt as you haue alwayes / ſo and in ſuche wyſe loued & exerciſed the ſtudies of beſt letters / that your proſpyting and goyng forwarde in the / may with out dout be cōpared with the doctryne of the beſt ler ned men that be in this tyme / that you wolde nat ſuſ ſte any of the monumētes oꝝ woꝝkes made by aūctant authoꝝs in olde tyme to periſſhe / & to be vtterly loſt & caſt away whyles you were pope / yet nat withſtāding whan I red that inſcriptyon oꝝ tytle openly ſet forth in Italy. *Leoni decimo pontifici maximo reſtaura toꝝi pacis* / whiche is thus moche to ſay in englyſhe.

To Leo the tenth pope / the renewer of peace: I leapte by ſodaynly / beyng wonderfully ſtyzed with a ſodayne ioye / and comforted / and reſtoꝝed agayn to my ſelfe / from that paſſyon and vnquietneſſe of my mynde / wherin I had before contynued a longe ſea

B. iii. ſon/

The p̄fate of v̄dareth hūsten

son by the reasoⁿ. I saw this nation dyd suffer many
 greuouse and shamfull thiges vnder tyranuouse and
 cruell popes. I am therfore ryght ioyfull and glabbe
 for their sakes / which are lyving in this tyme / which
 by you / as it were by almost lūcky starre of peace sp̄d
 ge by o^r xps̄ / now after so longe darkenesse of tyrā
 ny beholdeth & lobeth by to the newe lyght of lyberte /
 and you are a very pope in dede / whiche do bynge
 peace / but your p̄decessours / whiche had nat this
 peace : Were no popes at all / for they dyd nat folowe
 Christ / whiche gaue peace to his discyples / and lefte
 the same as inherytaunce vnto them / sayeng these
 wordes. My peace I do gyue to you my peace I do
 leaue to you. And therfore also they were nat his by
 cars / whose sted & offyce they dyd nat kepe o^r fulfill /
 for they kyngdome of god is to kepe peace / but rather
 they were clene contrary & enemies to Christ / whose
 studies o^r workes they haue dyspyled / and haue folo
 wed a contrary kynde o^r maner of lyving / for peace
 belōgeth to him : and they desyred & folowed warres
 and batayls. He studyed to saue men by his doctryne
 and teachyng / and they laboured busely to kyll and
 destroye men / with weapons of warre. He shewed
 his kyngdome to be heuenly / and they sp̄st of al / and
 most chesely sought the empiers of the worlde. Ther
 fore neither they were blessed : bycause they were nat
 peaceable o^r maynteners of peace. Neither were they
 the sonnes of god / for Christ sayth. Blessed are the
 peaceable persons : for they shall be called the sonnes of
 god. & Lo / thā by you most blessed father is restored
 and renewed the peace / which through their peruer
 syte was sayd to haue had a great fall & decaye. And
 this peace most chesly & in especyal learned men / haue
 receyued with great ioye by your benefyte and gyfte.
 Secundarely / they also very desyroully haue embrac
 ed the same peace : from whome many thynges had
 ben vniustly taken away by fraude and gyle / for with
 peace is come also iustice through your restoryng / for
 accordyng to the sayeng of the prophete / now chesly
 in this tyme. Rightuousnesse and peace hath kyssed
 togider

Popes beise
 warriors are
 no popes at
 all.

Jo. 14.
 Peace was
 thynheritāce
 which Christ
 gaue : left to
 his apostles.

Popes ma
 kyng warre /
 are nat the vi
 cars / but the
 aduersarys &
 enemies of
 Christ.

The workes
 of Christ : of
 certayne po
 pes / cōpared
 togider.

Mat. 5.

The cōmody
 ties ensuyng
 of peace and
 tranquillyte.

Isal. 34.

The p[re]face of Adalric Hutter

to gether. For the o[ne] fydelyte is come also / and that
doughter of tyme / that is to witte / verite o[ne] trouthe :
she is come also / & the vertues belonging to kynges
and gouernours / that is to witte / mercy and mekenes
are come also plentifully. Do you se here / O Leo the
tenth / of howe many good thynges and comodities
at ones / you haue ben the author and begynner : you
by bringyng of peace / haue also with it brought in
the studies of peace / that is to say / the studies of the
best artes and sciences. you haue also restored rightu
ousnes / for in peace are lawes / and by the lawes is
iustice caused. you haue also brought agayne lyberte
whom trouthe accompanieng : hath ben her selfe also
greatly profytable to the men of your tyme / for where
tyranny is / there can be no peace / bycause there is no
fydelyte o[ne] trustines / neither can there be any iustyce
o[ne] ryghtuousnesse : for as moche as every man hathe
nat that whiche is his owne / and bycause tyrantes
done oppresse the lawes. Neither it is laifull there
to say the trouthe : by cause there is no lyberte. But
nowe we ben very free / & at lyberte in dede : bycause
we haue peace / whiche we hauieng : shall haue and
vse also the studies of peace. So than / this tranqui
lyte / which coulde nat be had in the tyme of Julius
the author of warres / we wyl now vse vnder you /
the restorer & renewer of peace / that we may rest qui
etly in the studie of good letters. Therefore nowe let
it come forth to lyght / if any thig hath ben long tyme
hidde / and let every thinge come forth so moche the
more boldly / by how moch it is more truly & more sin
cerely & faithfully wrytten / of whiche sorte is this bo
ke / whiche other popes therfore haue nat suffred : by
cause they wolde nat here y^e trouthe / but you shall ther
fore loue it / bycause you haue now afore begon to vs
of y^e cuppe of trouthe / for what pertayneth y^e to you be
yng a pope of better cōscience / y^e they sayd this boke to
haue ben writte agaynst y^e dygnite of y^e ecclesiasticall
estat : o[ne] y^e they sayd y^e it did speke puel & rayled agai[nst]
popes / for verely neither they were popes / whiche
fayned & forged the donation of Cōstantyne / bycause
they were nat pastors o[ne] herdesmen. Neither it was

Verite is the
doughter of
tyme.

Mercy and
meeknesse / ar
vertues belo
gyng to go
uernours &
rulers.

Tyranny ex
cludeth alber
ties and cō
modities.

They were
no very po
pes / that say

The p[re]face of v[er]balis h[ut]ten

ned the gyfte
of graunt of
Constantyne.
Nether it
was a ryght
churche that
receyued the
same graunt.

a churche/ whiche receyued and admytted it/ bycause
it was nat a congregation of faythfull chursten men /
for if they had ben herdesmen: they wolde haue fedde
the shepe of Christ/ and nat haue invaded & deuoured
them. And if it had ben a church: truly it wolde haue
called people to lyfe & lyberte/ & nat haue drawn vio-
lently empties and nations vnder yoke and bondage.
For thus spaketh the church: Come to me all you þ
do lust & desyre after me/ & be you fulfilled of my ge-
nerations. Certainly she fylleth (I meane the church)
whomsoeuer she hath receyued/ but that congregati-
on of wicked men/ dyd emptye and make bare those/
whom they receyued. Moreouer Christ badde his
vicars. Be good herdesmen/ and nat rauenouse and
gredy deuouryng woolues. For he sayde in this
wile to Peter. Peter louest thou me? If thou doest
fede my shepe. He sayd. fede my shepe / and nat deu-
uour my people: euen so as thou woldest deuour the
substance of a lofe of breed. And whan he called them
to the apostleshippe: he sayd. I shall make you fye-
shers of men/ that is to say / I shall make you / that
by preachyng and good enamples gyuing/ you shal
allure and drawe vnto the trouthe/ such men as done
erre & wandre from they fayth / whiche thing bycause
you do folowe / most blessed father: we are gladde/
and do greatly reioyce / that this orde is retourned
agayne to their offyce and dutie / through your cau-
syng & bringing it to passe / by the reason that Peace/
that lybertie/ that iustyce/ and verite by your meanes
are called and brought agayne / for what more mery
hojce/ or what more swete or more pleasaunt worde
myght be herde than this: I meane the restorpyng of
peace. So than with lytell busynesse/ that is to wit
with one lytell worde sette forth: you haue taken a-
way the great indygnation from the myndes of men/
you haue pacified and layd the behement and honge
passions and vnquietnesse of mennes myndes / and
haue disapoynted and put by mischeues and dystruc-
tions/ and haue ceassed all wzanglyng and stryfes/
where than it shulde haue coe to passe (if these cogita-
tions of men had happened vpon an euill pope) that
we wolde

Jo. the. 21
The succes-
sours of Pe-
ter ought to
fede Christes
flocke / & nat
to deuour the
Psal. 13.

Mat. 4.
what it is to
be fyers of
men.

The preface of Adalrik Butten

we wolde by force and violence haue takyn awaye
many thynges : nowe by you it is brought to passe /
that quietly resting / we do obtayne all thynges with-
out any trouble or busynesse / do you se. O Leo / a ve-
ry pope in dede / what maner one I do iuge this your
dede to be : we may nowe thanke your goodnesse for
the receyte of that thing : which els was to haue ben
pursued after / and purchaused with warre & fyghting /
wherfore nowe lette certayne perlones cease to feare /
lest you wyl be displeased and miscontent / if this bo-
ke be publyshed and sentre abroad agayne / by cause
thole peruerse and prepostroule popes / that haue ben
afore you / haue forbydoen that any man shulde haue
it in his hande / for you are in no poynte agreynge or
lyke to them : bycause they in no poynte dyd agre
with Christ / for they under gyle / all and colourable
deceite / haue drawen to themselves the secular and
worldly empires. But you / in the pure and pure
brightnesse of trouthe / haue opened an heuenly do-
minacyon / that is to wyte / the kyngdome of peace.
So than by your meane / Christen herite begyn-
neth to reupue and quicken agayne / which wher as
she hath ben of longe tyme oppressed : nowe taketh
herte and stomake agayne / and we / which hath ben
many a day in captyuite and thraldome : nowe deli-
uered and brought out agayn from that prision & der-
hencelle : deferueth to se lyght agayne / vpon trust and
boldnesse wherof / Walla encouraged : dare now ryle
agayne from dethe / and present hi selfe in to the eares
and lyght of men / and that so moche the rather also :
bycause he hath ben in olde tyme / in high fauour and
loue with your auncestres / of whom as you haue re-
ceyued & taken this vertue as it were by inherytaunce :
cun so lyke wise in other vertues you do nat / warue
or go out of kynde from them / for lyke wise as in eru-
dicyon and lernyng / you do resemble that excellent
lerned Politian your maister and teacher : cun so in
odicyons & maners you ar nothyng vnlyke to your
great graudfathers graudfather Cosmus Medices.
And lyke wise as this was his chere praisse / y although
he alone

The p̄face of Ubalrik Hutton

he alone might haue done all thinges in his cyte/ yet
he wolde nat do al that he might/ Eyn so let this be
your laude / that wher as you might raigne and rule
as an Emperour / you had leauer kepe and saue as a
pastor oꝝ herdesman. But in Cosinus this was prin
cipally worthy meruaile and prayse / that he beyng
him selfe nat letted/ yet dyd he loue lerned men & had
them in honour/ causing them to be sought forth and
brought to him from all places on euery side/ and so
courtyng them with his helpe/ and also with his goo
des. But Laurence your fether / both loued learned
men: and also was himselfe for his lernyng / worthy to
be accompted amonge the cheyfe lerned men of his
tyme. & I than this is an happie family and kynred
which hath ben ordained of god / to the helping / pro
motyng / and fortheryng of good lernyng / for what
other stocke oꝝ kynred is therre / to whom els we be be
holden / and whom ought we to thanke / as being the
causers of the prosperite and comodites of this our
time. By whose benefyte els is it: that we haue both
the greke and also the laren letters reuiued & restored
againne frome bitter destruction. So that in Italie
onely / the Florentines are they whiche / so great a co
modite oꝝ benefite receyued: ought nat to repete them
oꝝ be a shamed oꝝ wery of tirauntes. No dout of it /
Ualla was derely beloued of your ancestres / whyles
he was a lyue / therfore / for theire reuerence & lokes / he
is nat to be despised of you: although he be deed /
where than are they / which thought it for to be feared
lest you wolde nat suffre the publysshing and setting
forth of this worke: as who wolde say / that you had
at any time receiued and alowed in your minde / the
fraude and craftie gyle of them / whiche sinfully and
cursedly haue imagined lyes of Constantine / oꝝ els
as though this litell boke were nat such one / that nat
only it may be red of all men: but also y it ought & is
necessarie & nedefull to be redde of all men / for asmoch
as very great frute & profite may come of it / whyles
the trowth is perfetely knowen. But some man will
happely say / that it is a couicious & a checking boke.
Trowth it

The peface of Adalrik Hutten

it is / and therefore it is a good booke / fepnge that it
 bytterly and fharpely rebuketh euill men . But they
 wpll faye agayne / it is deuellyfh / cruell / and vnchar
 rytable agaynst popes . Nay / rather agayn a tyraun
 tes / for if in the cityes of Grece / it is ordayned
 and decreed / that they ought to haue rewardes / whi
 che haue flayne any tyraunte and ridde him out of the
 worlde : What rewarde than fhall we gyue to them /
 whiche doo impugne & fyght agaynst verie tyranny
 it felfe : Or if it be charyte and naturall / to loue our
 owne countrey . Howe can it be fayde / that he dothe
 vncharitably and vnloouyngly / whiche hateth the ene
 mye of it . Were nat thofe popes the enemyes of Chri
 ften men / whiche byolentlye plucked the ryches and
 goodes of all men / to their owne felues : whiche wet
 about with all enforcemēt / to bryng all free men in to
 feruitude & bondage : and which despoyled the kiges
 of their empyre / & the cōmunes of their money : whi
 che did fende vnto vs from Rome / byfhoppes clothed
 in palles or robes / with fo great loue and domage of
 our patrimonyes or lyuelodes : Or were they the vi
 cars of Chrift / whiche dyde nat fulfill his offyce / of
 who it is wrytten . His place hath ben made in peace .

psa. lxxv.

Or if they be tyzantes / whiche do take vpon them
 felues to haue empire / dominyon / and rule ouer men
 that be free : Who doth this thyng more than he / whi
 che chalengeth or draweth hym in to feruitude & bon
 dage / that is the conseruer and mayntener of lyberte /
 that is to wyt / the pryncce or emperour of the Romayns .

Therefore to cōclude / Walla fpeketh nat euill agaynst
 popes / but he fpeketh the trouthe agaynst tyrauntes
 and for that caufe it ought to be fupposed & thought
 that he dothe please you greatly : you (I faye) beyng
 a man fprongen of fo noble a ftocke or kyndred : of fo
 noble auncestres / endued alfo with fo excellent lea
 rnyng / and haupnge alfo fo honorable a name .

There ought nat any lye or leafnyng to be agreing
 vnto anye one of the ftocke or kyndred of the Medis
 ces / and where fo greatte learnyng is : there no
 peruerfitye canne be receyued or haue entraunce .

And

The pface of Adalrik Butten

Leo.

And the highe and great stomake of a lyon doth nat
 suite oꝝ receyue vnto it self/ the humylte oꝝ bylenesse
 of fraude oꝝ gyle / whiche hath alwayes in his mou-
 the this sentēce oꝝ sayng of the greke poete. To lye/
 is an vn honest / a vyle / and a knauylthe thyng/ and
 belongyng to villayns. The trouth : is an excellent
 and an honorable thyng / appertaynig to noble & gen-
 tylmen. Besydes this / if euer in any thyng Walla
 dyd shewe oꝝ declare what an excellent man he was/
 and with howe noble and stronge mynde he was en-
 dued : he dothe it in this lytle boke/ whiche natwith-
 standyng the very great reoperdye that he sawe sette
 forth afoze his eyes: (Suche was the worlde at that
 tyme) yet wolde he nat shyynke oꝝ goo awaye frome
 the trouth/ but boldely and styffely dyd stande by it /
 and in that poynte howe moche better and moze lyke
 a Christen man dyd he/ than dyd that dulle asse of la-
 te tyme/ whiche dedycated the priuylege of that wor-
 thyppfull & goodly donatyon oꝝ gyfte/ to pope Iulys
 the seconde/ nat without the contumelye and reproche
 of the moost excellent learned man/ & in euery poynt
 better than hym selfe. Alfyrmynge/ that him selfe had
 traslalte it out of þe greke/ wher as we dyd nat knowe
 that it was wyrtten oꝝ made in the greke tonge/ for he
 dyd flatter/ to thentent/ that he myght please one per-
 son. But Walla hath spoken the trouthe/ to the ende
 that he myght profyte and do good to many men.
 What thyng lacketh he / that belongeth to the perfec-
 tyon of a Christen man/ and a good man. They ther-
 fore doo nothyng knowe you/ whiche doo feare/ that
 this labour of Walla shalbe myslykynge and displea-
 saunte to you / for yf they dyd knowe you / oꝝ youre
 mynde/ they wolde nat esteeme and iuge your lyfe / by
 the maners and condycions of those popes / whiche
 haue ben robbers of men & theues / frome whom and
 whose opinyon I doo greatly dysente and disagre /
 bothe whan I doo here your fame and prayse openly
 spoken of / and spredde abrode euerywhere : and also
 whan I doo consyder this your promple full of very
 good opinyon / for you do restore and renewe peace.
 But

The p̄face of v̄dalsch hūten

But there can no peace be betwene the extorſioners
oz robbers / and them which be robbed / & haue their
goodes wrongfully by violence taken from them: ex-
cepte they haue that which is their owne / restored to
them againe. And you / excepte you were mynded to
performe and fulfil the dede ſelfe / wolde neuer haue
putte forth and ſet afore vs this p̄mple / which els
ſhoulde be but vayne wordes. And therfore this is
myne opinion / that you wolde haue ben greatly di-
pleased and angry with me / if both agaynst the iuge-
ment of myne owne mynde / and also agaynst the co-
mmon iugement of all men. (For who is he that is of
opinion oz mynde) I ſhoulde haue played vnto you
that vngratious & myscheuous ymagination oz ſay-
nyng / whiche thoſe falſe popes haue vntrewly iudged
of Conſtancie: ſayeng and alſo ſayeng it out / that
he hath geuen and graunted to them the empire of the
Weſt parte of the worlde / with the cytie of Rome / the
lady & regent of all people and nations / whole leude
boldneſſe I do marueyle at / cheſely in this: that they
were nat afrayde nor a ſhamed / to aſſume that thing
whiche they knewe well / that no man wolde beleue.
But they wened that they ſhoulde eaſely haue perſwa-
ded the Germainys / and brought them in beleue therof
bycauſe the comen ſame & noſe goeth / & the Germa-
is haue no brayne nor witte / & therfore they ble no witte
nor polyce oz crafty conueyance in this matter / for if
they had had to do with other natyons / doubtles this
ſaynyng oz ymaginatioſ ſhuld nat haue ben ſo ſolde
and ſaynte / as it is / but a great deale more craftely
hādled / and they wold haue ben more ware and wiſe
in the deuysing of this lye / excepte there can be any
man founde / whiche can ſhewe / that euer they blede
any ſuch fraude oz gyle agaynst any emperour / afore
that the name of Emppere came to the Germainys
I am therfore (oh good lord) exceedingly aſhamed of
our forefathers there / which haue ben ſo ſlowe & dyl-
wytted / that they coulde nat perceyue oz elpy the de-
ceipte / which was eaſy to be perceyued and knownen
euen of very chyldren. But their fraude and gyle is
C ſo moch

The p̄face of v̄dairik butten

so moche moze worthy of moze hated : by ho we mo
the after worke facyn they haue abused oꝝ simply cite
mistrustynge no decepte oꝝ crafte at all. But who can
praysē and metuayle ynough at your filypyte & hap
pynes / most blessed Leo : in whose persone it hathe
chaunced this change to be made of. Popes / in to the
better : for the church / from hence forwarde shall ha
ue better popes / except this your promys be nat ma
de with the herte / but sayned / as I am sure it is nat.
And therfoze those persons do intyre vnto you : who
so euer do but euen so moch as doubte ones / whether
you wyl suffre them that do wryte agaynst þe donatiō
oꝝ gyfte of Constantyne / so shamfully & falsly forged
and sayned / and agaynst those popes / whiche haue ben
the ymagyners and deuyfers of this most detestable
and abhominable mischefe : all checkinge and bytter
woꝝdes / and also all sharpe and cruel dedes / are mete
and conuenient to be vsed euyñ to the vitermost that
maye be eyther sayd oꝝ done. Why nat : agaynst rob
bers of pꝛinces and of the cōmunes / agaynst theues /
agaynst tyauntes / agaynst open rouers. For who is
a moze vyolent thefe oꝝ open robber / than is he : whi
che so plucketh mennes goodes frome them / that he
neuer taketh vp / oꝝ maketh an ende of so doig. These
were they / which takig occasyō in a very smal thinge
haue gone forth past al mesure in outrage of pyllyng
and polyng away of mennes goodes / whiche haue set
forthe / graces to be solde / which haue sold pardons /
haue solde dispensations / and a thousande maners &
kyndes of bulles / nowe so longe season / whiche haue
oꝝdayned lurre and gaynes to be gotten in the remis
syon and forgyuenes of synnes. And also haue found
and gottē wynnynge and aduauntage in the punys
ment & paynes of them that are deed / which also haue
suffred the ben :fyces / which are almoste of our fozes
fathers : to be bought of themselves / whiche haue bro
ught the Germaynes in belefe / that they are no bys
shoppes : whiche haue nat boughte theyꝝ palles of
them / with many thousande peces of golde / whiche
haue nat ben cōtente / noꝝ thought it ynough to exacte
and

The excedig
abusyons of
certayne po
pes.

The p̄face of v̄dalt sk hutton

and require money extraordinarily euery yere ones /
but also as oftentymes as it hath come i to their myn-
de / haue sent collectours & gatherers / sondrie of them
foz sondrie causes. As some / bycause they were about
to make redy foz warre agaynst the Turkes : Other
some / that they might buylde bp the churche of saynt
Peter in Rome / whiche they do nat care oʒ pꝛouyde
to be fynished. And albeit that they dyd all these thi-
ges afoze reherſed / yet foz all that / they wolde the ſel-
ues comunely to be ſaluted & called moſte bleſſed / and
moſt holy fathers / and did nat ſuffre / nat onely any
thyng to be done : but also nat ſo moche as to be ſayd
oʒ ſpoken agaynst their conditions and maners. But
if any man had ſpoken any whitte / oʒ made any men-
cion of lybertie / oʒ if any man had caſt any thyng at
all agaynst them in their way to lette / oʒ delay / and
hyndre them in their extortion oʒ rauyne and robbry:
they dyd wreke their teene vpon his ſoule / deſtroye
it and dampnyng it ſoꝛthwith to the pytte of helle.
Wolde you nat rekyn him / moſt noble Leo / to be a ve-
ry great enemy to you : if any mā dyd accoꝛp̄te you
in the nombꝛe of ſuche insatiable theues / of ſo cruell
tyꝛauntes : O do you nat thynke him to be a frende &
benefyciall vnto the eſtates of Popes : whiche with a
gret loude voyce doth laude and pꝛayſe you / foz that
you are nothyng agreyng oʒ lyke vnto them : and on
the other ſyde doth take away from them al thynges /
that belonge to the ſuccelſyon of Peter. O wyll
nat you whiche are the renewer of peace / ſaye well of
him / and gyue him your bleſſyng : which curſeth thoſe
authoꝛs and cauſers of warres and ſeditions : Yes /
mozeouer I knowe you ſo well / that I dare be bolde
to ſay / your ſelfe wyll curſe them / that the ſayeng of
the pꝛophet may be applyed very well & accoꝛgyngly
to euery one of them. He hath loued maladiſtion oʒ
curſyng / & it ſhall come to him. He wolde no bleſſyng
and therfoze it ſhall be ſette ſarre of frome him. foz
they with curſyng did deſtroye the ſoules of men : as
though mennes ſoules were nat a poſſelſyon derelpe
beloued of god / it may therfoze be concluded / ꝑ̄ they

C.ii.

were

Psal. 108
Popes nat
ſhepherdes:
but wolues /
nat keepers of
Chriſtes floꝛ
ke: but betꝛoy-
ers of them.

The p̄face of vbalrik hutter

were no pastozs oꝝ herdesmen / bicause they dyd nat
 saue oꝝ kepe soules from perisshyng / but dyd distroy
 them / & dyd set forth the shepe of Christ in to daunger
 of the wolues / which go about the flocke of the loꝝde /
 foꝝ to deuoure it. I say they were nat shepherdes but
 wolues : nat keepers oꝝ watchemen / but traytours &
 theues / wherfoꝝe by very good ryght we may curse
 them : because god doth nat loue them / foꝝ as moche
 as the selues had no mide oꝝ loue to the peace of god
 Therfoꝝe to conclude so longe hath there ben no pope
 in y church: as longe as there hath ben no peace in it.
 Ye mozeouer so longe might men neither say wel / ney
 ther do wel: how longe these kauenous wolues wal-
 ked through goddes folde making hauocke / & so long
 as those syngulare wylde beastes dyd wast & distroy y
 vineparde of the loꝝde / & those incōparable tyrauntes
 were loꝝdes / & had dominio ouer al Christendom / of
 whom Hieremy the prophete sayth / Many herdesmē
 haue destroyed & thowen down my vineparde / they
 haue my parte troden vnder the fote / foꝝ if euery man
 is so moche a worse tyrant : by how moche he killeth
 mo bodyes of the Citezens oꝝ cōmunes / y he him selfe
 may make hauocke & take his pleasure / safely / out of
 ieopardy : what is to be sayd of them / which y them
 selues might haue riches / dyd begyne & instyrate the
 slaughter & murther of soules euery where: which we
 re nat contented / noꝝ thought it ynough to kyll & sle
 the bodies of men / foꝝ that they defended the trouth :
 but also dyd kyll & sle the soule / y leue & dere spouesse
 of god / whiche dyde destroy / kyll / & deuoure y noble
 spoyle of hell / that rewarde of so great labour & tra-
 uayll / & which was purchased & gotten with the pre-
 cious blode of Christ: whom we truly dyd nat enuye
 agayn of our parte / foꝝ that they were riche & of gret
 power & myght: but we hated the / by cause they were
 noysome & euyl doers. But what alacryte oꝝ chereful-
 nes can be sufficient foꝝ vs / y we might shewe y gret
 loue most depely graffed & roted now in the midis of
 Christen men towarde you / most blessed Leo: you ar
 the p̄ncypal lōe of the worlde / you ar the cheste der-
 lyng

Psal. 119.

Here. 12.

Howe preci-
 ous a thyng
 the soule of
 man is / and
 how deerye
 lōued of god.

The p̄face of vbalric hutton

lyng & delyghte of al mankynde/ the renewer & restorer of peace/ the quencher & ceasser of warres/ the author and causer of securite & quietnes / the pacifier & a laper of troubles & stryfes/ the father of studies/ the nourisher of learnyng/ the repapier & renewer of all good artes & sciences / wherby the wittes are adourned & garnished/ of whom it is wrytten by þ̄ prophet
 In his dayes there shall spunge oꝝ ryle iustyce / and plenty of peace. How moch more substantiall & true
 pease is contayned in these thynges : than were contayned in those thynges / whiche of late dayes were spoken to Julius of his warres and triumphes. For these thynges are the laudable & cōmendable workes of a very pope. And those of Julius were þ̄ most ferce cruell / & vengeable dedes of a tyrāunte. For douteles none of them was a pope/ whiche haue drawen vnto themselves (caryng nat by what so euer meanes) the seculare kingdomes. Neither he hath ben þ̄ vicare of Christ/ oꝝ the succellour of Peter : who so euer he be/ that hath defended that wretched & synful donation of Constantine / which neuer was made : neither yet was possyble to haue ben euer made. The improbation & disprouig wherof/ in so moch I do nat suppose oꝝ thinke to be wicked : that I do iuge them grettely to minishe & derogate the dignyte of popes/ who so euer do approue oꝝ alowe it. And also I haue confidence & trust / that I do great pleasure vnto you : in that I do renew and call it agayne as it were from darknes to lyght / from death to lyfe / that lytell boke of Walla made concernyng this mater/ whiche hath ben of late tyme reiected/ refused/ and condēpned. ye more ouer I do dedicate the same boke vnto your hōlynesse : to the entente / that it maye be witnesed and openly knowen to all men / howe that nowe (lyberte beyng restored/ & as it were new borne agayne / by þ̄ reason that you are pope) all men maye lausfully both speake the trouthe : ye / and also put forth the same in wrytyng / whiche my dede / all be it I do nat doute/ but that yt dothe please you grettly : yet natwithstandyng after that I shall haue perceyued this to be ap-
 C.iii. proued

Psal. 71.

The p̄face of v̄dairik hutton

proued of you/ by some publyke and open testymonie
I shall gyue diligence that I may ostentymcs fynde
out some such lyke thige. In the meane season Christ
preserue you beyng to good & very a pope vnto vs/
longe in helth & prosperite from Steckelberge castell
the fyrst day of Decēbre/ in ȳ yere of our lordē. 1517.

The reuerende father Iherome Dan / Cathalane
chanon of Barcinon/ doctoꝝ of both the lawes/ & chā
berlayn to Pope Alexandꝛe the .vi. A man very woꝝ
thy credēce / & to be beleued : writeth thus as herafter
foloweth/ in his boke / whiche they call cōmenly / the
Practice of the popes Chauncery.

Pope pius
hath writen
a dialoge / a-
gaynst the gif
te of graunte
of Constan-
tine.

That the donatiō oꝝ gyfte of Cōstantine was
neuer trew mater in dede : Rede Laurence
Malla & pope Pius in his dialoge/ & I my selfe truly
neuer red any thige of such maner graunt in any ap-
proued writer of histories/ namley of ȳ soꝛte/ whiche
wrote in the tyme of Cōstantine / oꝝ in the tyme next
vnto it. For neither Eusebius / which was ȳ most di-
lygent ensercher & teller of Christē histories / maketh
any mētion therof/ which for all that (if it had ben of
trouthe) semed nat to haue ben in any wise for to be o-
uer hipped & leste out. Neither Ierome/ Aug. Am-
brose/ Basilius/ Jo. Chrysostome. Neither Amny-
ane/ neither the historie called Historia Tripartita.
Neither yet Damasus the pope in his cronycle / ney-
ther Bede/ neither Orosius/ hath spoken any thyng
therof. And this is v̄ndoutedly knowen to be trewe/
ȳ by the space of mo thā thre hundred yeres after Cō-
stantyn / themperours had the domynion / & were the
gouernours & rulers of the cyte of Rome/ & of Italy/
by dukes / deputies / & leutenātes & captaynes / and
that of the cyte of Rome : they had the gouernaūce in
their owne handes / euyñ vnto the tyme of pope In-
nocētius ȳ second / as it appereth openly i Cronicles
and histories/ and of Justiniāne the emperour : it is
euidēt in the fyrst and second boke de officio prefecti
pretoris / africe/ and in the proheme of the Institutes
and in the epistel Inter claras/ and in many other di-

Exarches

A strong rea-
son and argu-
ment.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

uerse places of the ciuyll law/ & in the lyfe of Phocas
 thempcrou. yt is red/ that Bonifacius the pope/ op-
 tayned the temple Pantheon of hym. To knowe than/
 how & of who the church hath had lades. Rede the ie-
 stes oꝝ actes of great Charles/ otherwile called Char-
 lemayne: & in this toꝛie of Depin. Rede also pope Bi-
 in y afoꝛsaid dialoꝛ/ & those thiges which late tyme
 haue be gathered toꝛther by Bartylmuc of Blatyn/
 kepar of the lybrarie/ which hath collected & gathered
 in a very great volume oꝝ boke / all thins trumetes oꝝ
 writiges apteynyng & belöꝛyng to the state of y chur-
 che in tẽporall thinges/ namely about the gettyng of
 landes/ & of other titles/ lybertes/ & rentes. To y col-
 lection & gatheringe of whiche volume/ we also haue
 done our labour & diligence/ as touching the ouerlo-
 kyng & correction of it. And as cöcernyng y afoꝛsaid
 donation of Constãtyn/ & the healyng of his leppie:
 Rede those thinges which Kenus the bysshop of Pa-
 dua writeth at large i his histöꝛie of y lyues of popes
 These thinges it hath lyked vs to put here before/ y
 the reader/ as it were instructed by an argumet & bꝛefe
 narratiö of the mater/ herafter to be treated / may cöe
 the more ppaired & redy to the redyng of Lau. Walla.

Charlemayne
 & Depin rob-
 byng the true
 Emperours
 enriched the
 church of Ro-
 me.

Pantheon
 was a temple
 in Rome / in
 which all the
 goddes were
 worshipped /
 and therof it
 hath this na-
 me Panthẽs
 whiche is as
 moche to say
 as of all god-
 des. This tẽ-
 ple/ Bonifac
 the pope whi-
 che was .iiii.
 after Biante
 Gregory / re-
 ceuyng it of
 phocas by gif-
 te/ tourned in
 to the church
 of alhalowes

Ken^o bysshop
 pr of Padua

¶ Thus endeth the fyrst parte of this boke.

¶ The delamation of Lau. Walla/ a noble man & of
 the senatours blode of Rome/ against the vntꝛuly for-
 ged & falsely beleued donation oꝝ gifte of Cöstãtyn.

¶ The first pte of this oration/ in which thautoꝛ she
 weth his entet & the order / after which he wyll pcede
 in this woꝛke/ & also that neither Constãtyn of lyke
 lyhed was wylllyng/ oꝝ coude be suffred to gyue/ nei-
 ther Syluester was wylllyng / oꝝ myght lausfully re-
 cepue the thynges mencioned in the donation.

I haue made and put foꝛth many & diuers bokes
 welnere in euery kynde of doctryne and scyen-
 ces. In whiche bookes / bycause I doo varry and
 disagre in mynde and oppynion from certayne great
 authours/ and whiche haue ben nowe of longe tyme

The declamation of Lau. Valla

& contynuaunce approued & allowed / seying that there
 be some men / which are discontent & angry therewith /
 & which therfore do accuse me as a presumptuous pson
 and as one that had comptred sacriledge: I pray you
 what is than to be suppoled / that certayn psones wyl
 do now: how greely shal they rage & rayle agaisste me
 ye / & if it shal lye in theyr power / how byolently / & how
 curiously shal they hale & drawe me to execution:
 which nat only do write agaynst them / that be deade:
 but also agaynst them that be yet a lyue / and that nat
 agaynst one or two alone: but agaynst a great meyny
 & nat agaynst priuate persons onely: but also agaisst
 those / which are in auctorite / & be heed offycers / go-
 uernours & rulers. But what heed offycers or rulers:
 verely þ pope highest of all bisshoppes / which is nat
 onely armed with the tēporall swerde / after the maner
 and custome of kinges and princes: but also with the
 ecclesiasticall or spirituall swerde / that a mā can nat
 defende himselfe so from him. No / nat vnder the very
 shelde (that I may so saye) of any of the princes: but
 that shal be stricken with excomunication / the great
 sentence & the lesse course. And if that man haue bet-
 tured to haue doone also as wisely / as he byd speake
 whiche sayd / that he wolde nat write agaynst them /
 whiche haue power to proscrybe or banishe: Howe
 moche more seemeth it / that I ought to do the same / &
 to be ware / how I do write agaynst him / which shal
 nat so moch as leaue any place to proscryption or ba-
 nishment / & which may so pursue me with the spūall
 vltym of his power & auctorite: that I may ryghtful-
 ly say with þ prophet Dauid / in the psalme. whether
 shal I go from thy spyrite: & whether shal I fle from
 thy face: excepte parauēture we suppose / þ the Pope
 shal take these thiges more patiently / than othet mea-
 ne prestes wold do. But that is nothyng so / for Ana-
 nias the hyghest and heed preest / commaunded / eyn
 in the pcesence of the hyghe captayne / whiche sat as
 iudge: that Paule shuld be stryken and beten on the
 face / because he sayd / that him selfe had lyued & bene
 couerlaunt among the Jewes / with a good consci-
 ce

The pope oc-
 cupieth bothe
 the temporall
 and the spiri-
 tuall swerde.

There is no
 where any re-
 fuge to be had
 from the vio-
 lent power
 of the Pope.
 Psal .88.

Actes .23.
 Ananias com-
 maunded said
 Paule to be
 beaten on the
 mouth for say-
 yng the trou-
 th.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

ce/and Shaffur beyng endued with the same dignite/
 dyd caste the prophete Hieremie into prison: because
 he dyd speke the trouthe boldely and frelye / but yet the
 hyghe captayne/ & the Emperours deputte was both
 able and also wyllyng to defende Daule / & the kyng
 both myghte and wolde defende Hieremie agaynste
 the iniurie of the highe preste or byshoppe / but what
 captayne & what deputte or ruler & what kyng shalbe
 able & although he were wyllyng to delyuer me frome
 the hādes of the pope/ if he may ones lay handes vpon
 me: But there is no cause / why this double feare of
 wyperdy shuld trouble my mynde / or holde me backe
 from my purpose: for neither may the pope/ eyther bi
 de or loose any thyng contrary to ryght and goddes
 lawe/ and to loose and spende the lyfe in the defence &
 mayntenaunce of trouthe and iustyce: is a poynte
 of most hyghe vertue / of moste hyghe prayse / and of
 most hyghe and greattest rewarde. Haue nat many
 men put them selues willingly in daunger and peryll
 of deathe: for the defence of their earthely cōtrye. &
 shal I thā be a fraide to put my self in daunger of deth/
 for to get & optayn the heuently cōsytrey (which those
 men do gette & optayne/ that do please god: and nat
 they whiche do please men). Therfore fare wel feare/
 and adewe drede. The cause of trouthe / the cause
 of rightuosenesse / the cause of god: is to be defended
 with a stronge and bolde mynde/with great courage
 & confydence / and with good hope / for he is nat to be
 accompted a right oratour which hath the crafte & con
 nyng to make a good oration and to speake well: ex
 cept he dare also boldely do it. Let vs therfore be bol
 de and hardy / to accuse whosoever doth cōmytte thin
 ges worthy accusacion / and he which trespasseth a
 gaynst all men: let him be checked and rebuked by
 the mouth of one man / for all. But peradventure som
 wyll saye/ that I ought nat to chide or rebuke my
 brother openly/ but secretly bitwene hym & me. yes
 verely/ He which trespasseth & offendeth openly/ and
 which wolde nat receyue close & secreete cōsaille/ is to
 be refused & rebuked opely & by the sūple of him/other
 may

Jer. 20
 Jeremy was
 cast in to pris
 son by the his
 ghe preste/for
 spekyng the
 trouthe.
 Jer. 26

The pope cal
 nat bynde or
 lose any thyng
 ge cōtrary to
 right/and the
 lawe of god.

Let no man
 thynke to spe
 de his lyfe/in
 the defence of
 trouthe and iu
 stice.

Heuyn is go
 ten by pleas
 ge of god / &
 nat by pleas
 ge of men.

who is a gode
 oratour.

Mat. 18.
 Open siners
 & which wyll
 nat receiue se
 crete cōsaille
 are to be rebu
 ked openly.
 The first epi
 stle to Timo
 the / 1. v. cha.

The declamation of Lau. Valla

Gala 12.
To the gala-
tians the se-
cond chapl.

He that ob-
serueth the cō-
maundemen-
tes of god: is
made one spy-
rite with god

No mā is to
be spared be-
cause of his
dignite but if
he be reprove
word: he mai
ought to be
reproved.

Marcel-
lus pope.
Celestine
pope.

For what en-
tete valla ma-
de this wor-
ke.

may be put in feare & drede. Dyd not Paule) whose wordes these were / & I last receyued) reprene Peter to his face / in the presēce and syght of the congregati- on / because he was reprovāble and worthy rebuke : & he hath left this in wyrtig : to our doctryne & instruc- tion. But some man happely wyl saye agayne / that I am nat Paule / which may worthely rebuke Peter / yes verely / I am Paule : in that I do folowe Paule euyn lyke wise as & whiche is a moche greater thing. I am made one spirite with god : whā I do dyligēt- ly obserue & obey his cōmaundementes. Neither is it the dignyte of any man / that may him save and lūce from blame or rebukes / whiche dyd nat saue Peter from reprove / nor many other men of the same highe estate and degree: but that they haue ben rebuked / as Marcellus / bicause he had made sacrifice to goddes and Celestine / bycause he was of the same opinion : that Nestorius & heretike was of / & as we do knowe also / that in our tyme & reberaunce / certayne haue ben of their inferiours. (For who is nat inferiour to the pope) repreneu and rebuked (I wyl nat say con- dempned) And verely I doo nat this / bycause I do coueyte to rayle vpon any man / and to write such reuyllyng & rebukefull orations agaynst him / as were the oratryons of Cicero / agaynst maister Antonius / whiche orations are called philyppe (for god sheld me from doig such a dede) but that I myght loose & plucke a way erreours & wronge opinions fro mēes myndes. and that I myght kepe the farre away from byces & līnes / either by admonishig & counsailling: or els by reprovig & rebukig of them. I dare nat be so bolde to say / that other men taught by me / may with a hooke or byll cutte & kepe lowe & papale see (whi- che is & vineyarde of god) beig now ouer ranke & ha- uyng to many superfluous braunches / and compelle it to beare full grappes / and nat the small buryes of the wylde byne / which thyng whan I do : shall there be any mā wyllyng either to stoppe my mouth or his own eares: I wyl nat say to offre or put vnto me punishment & deth : that man that wolde so do although

The declamation of Lan. Tialla

although he be the pope hym selfe / what shall I say
 that he is : Shall I say that he is a good shepherde :
 or elles rather a deafe serpent / which wyl nat heare Psal. 57.
 voyce of the charmer or inchaunter / but is wyllyng
 to hurte his membles with her bytyng and poyson.
 I knowe that þe mennes eares haue ben nowe a good
 whyle despyrouse and longyng to here / what faute or
 cryme I wyl lay to þe popes charge / for sothe a great
 and a huge cryme / either of neglygent ignoraunce /
 or elles of outragouse couetousheite / whiche is the
 seruitute of ydoles / or elles of banyte / and despye of
 hauyng dominion and rule / whiche vyce / tyranny al- Ephc. 5.
 wayes accompanieth / for now certayn hūdrēth yeres
 either they haue perceyued and vnderstande / that the
 donation or graunte of Constantyne is but a forged
 or fayned thyng / or elles theselues haue fayned it / or
 els those that haue comen after / lettynge their sete fast
 in the gyles of their predeceßours / haue defended it
 for trewe / whiche they knewe well was false / by sho-
 nozing the maiestie of the papall estate / disworship-
 pyng the memorie of the olde popes / shamynge the
 christen religyon / and troublýng and fyllyng all the
 worlde with murders / thettes / and abhomynable
 synnes. ⁊ They say that the cytie of Rome is theirs
 that the kyngdome of Naples is their owne good.
 And that all Italy / Fraunce / Spayne / Germanye /
 Englande / and all the west parte of the worlde / be-
 longeth to them selues. For all these nations & coun-
 treis (they say) are containyd in the instrument and
 writte of the donation or graunt. Are than / all these
 afore reherced kyngdomes / thynne highe bysshoppe :
 Is it thy mynde : & arte thou purposed to recouer all
 these agayn : to spoyle & bereue all the kynges & prin-
 ces of the west pte / their cyties & townes : or to cōpell
 them to pay yerely trybutes to the : But I do say &
 thynke clene cōtrary / that þe kynges may more right-
 fully spoyle & depriue the of all thempire & dominion
 that thou hast. For as I shall declare & open / þe that
 graunt or gyfte / wherof the popes wyl their right &
 tptell to haue taken his originall / was knowen both
to Spl.

The Declamation of Lau. Valla

Neither Con-
stantyne/ney-
ther Sylue-
ster intended
uer any thing
of such dona-
tion.

i.
The order of
his proceſſe in
this oratio/ &
the deuſyon
of his worke.

ii.

iii.

iiii.

to Sylueſter and alſo to Conſtantyne. But are euer
I do come to the conſutynge and diſproouynge of the in-
ſtitutment oꝝ writte of the ſayde donation/ whiche is
their onely defence/ but bothe a falſe defence and a fol-
lyſſhe/ the order requyret that I reherce the matter
ſomwhat farther off/ and nere from the very begynning
And fyrſt of all I wyl ſhewe/ that Conſtantyne and
Sylueſter were no ſuche maner men / that either the
one (I meane Conſtantyne) wolde be wyllynge to gy-
ue oꝝ els might rightfully gyue/ oꝝ els that it dyd lye
in his owne power/ to deliuer them in to the handes
of any other men/ oꝝ els that the other (that is to wyt
Sylueſter) wolde be wyllynge to receyue/ oꝝ els muſt
laufully receyue and take them. Secondly I wyl
ſhewe/ that albeit theſe thynges were nat ſo/ whiche
are moſt trewe and eydent. yet that neither Sylue-
ſter dyd receyue/ neither Conſtatyne dyd deliuer/ pol-
leſſyon of thoſe thynges/ whiche are ſayd to haue ben
gyuen/ but that thoſe thynges haue alwayes cōtynue-
wed and remainyd in the hādes and gouernaynce oꝝ
rule of the emperours. Thirdly/ that nothyng at all
was gyuen of Conſtantyne to Sylueſter/ but to the
pope that was nexte predeceſſoure to Sylueſter/ for
Conſtatyne was baptysed afore that Sylueſter was
pope. And that thoſe gyftes were but ſmall oꝝ meane
gyftes/ wherewith the pope might ſuſtayne his lyfe.
Fourthly I wyl ſhewe/ that it is falſely & vntrewly
ſayd/ that the copy of the donation oꝝ graunt/ is ey-
ther founde in the decrees/ oꝝ els that it is taken of the
hystorie and lyfe of ſaint Sylueſter: which neither is
founde in that hystorie/ neither yet in any other hysto-
rie at all. Alſo I wyl declare and ſhewe/ that in the
ſayd writte oꝝ copy/ be contayned certayne contrary
and repugnant thynges/ impoſſyble thynges/ follyſhe
thynges/ barbarous thynges/ & madde tryfels/ woꝝ-
thy to be laughed at. Furthermore I wyl ſpeake of
the donation oꝝ gyft of certayne other emperours/ be-
yng outhet ſayned/ oꝝ els trifyling/ bayne/ and of non
effekte/ wher I wyl putte to/ that though Sylueſter
had poſſeſſed theſe thynges/ yet that natwithſtādyng
either

The declamation of Lau. Walla

either hym selfe / or els any other pope / who euer he
was / beyng ones driven out & put from the possession
of the / they can nat nowe after so great space of tyme
betwene be al ked or claymed agayne: neither by god
des lawe / neither yet by the lawe of man. Last of all
I shall shewe / that of those thynges whiche the pope
doth holde / there can be no prescription made by any
contynuaunce of tyme / be it neuer so longe. And nowe
as touchyng to the fyrst parte (and let vs speke fyrste
of Costantyne & after wardes of Syluester) we must
take hede & beware / that we doo nat pleade the em-
perours / ye / & in a maner the comune cause / with as
floure and smal eloquence and speche: as priuate or
meane mennes causes ar wonte to be pleaded / there-
fore as it were makyng an oration in the assemble &
audience of Kynges and Princes (as doubtles I do /
for this myne oration shall come into theyr handes) it
pleaseth me to speke vnto them / as if they were pre-
sente / and set in syght afore myn eyes. I call and spe-
ke vnto you Kynges and Princes (for it is harde for
a priuate man which is in none offyce or auctorite to
conceyue the Image of a royall and princely mynde)
I serche and enquire your mynde. I examine your
conscience. I aske & requyre your testimonie, wolde
any of you / if he had ben in Costantines rouse / haue
thought / that himselfe ought or that it had be mete &
conuenient because of liberte to haue giue to another ma-
nys cyte of Rome his own countrey? & chese & heed place
of all this world / the lady & quene of cytees / most of po-
wer & might / most noble / and most rich of people / the
benquester & triumphant conquerour of all nations /
the which is honorable & full of maiestie / euen in the
sight and beholdyng of it. And to gete hym selfe to a
hyle and poore to wile after wardes / that is to witte
to Byzantium: ye / moreover that he shulde with the
cyte of Rome / gyue Italy also / whiche is nat a pro-
uince: but the heed of prouinces / sholde gyue from
hym selfe the .iii. partes of Fraunce / the .ii. Spay-
nes / shulde gyue Germanye / shulde gyue Englande /
and all the hole weste parte of the worlde / and shulde
depryue

b.
The authore
sheweth it to
be nothing by
help / that any
prince beyng
in his ryght
mynde wolde
of hym selfe
wyllyng to gi-
ue from hym
selfe so great
thynges: as
are sayned in
the priuiledge
to haue be ge-
uen of Con-
stantyne.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

deprive him selfe of one of the.ii. eyes of the emper.
 No man can bringe me in mynde to beleue / that any
 man wolde do this / whiche were in his right mynde.
 For what thinge dothe god geue you more deſyred
 and longed for? what thyng is more pleaſaunt? what
 is more acceptable and better welcome / than to en-
 large and encrease your kingdome and empires: and
 very greatly to amplyſie and ſet forth the your dition
 and dominion both in length and bredthe / about this
 thyng (as me thinke I perceyue right well) all your
 care / all your cogitation and thoughte / and all your
 labour & trauayle / is ſpente and beſtowed bothe day
 and night. Herof do you principally and cheſtly hope
 to haue gloꝝy / for this thig you do forſake pleaſures /
 for this you do putte youre ſelues in a thouſande pe-
 rylls and ieoperdes. for this you are contente to loſe
 your moſt derely beloued childꝛe. ye for this / you do
 nat grudge to loſe pte of your owne bodis / for I ne-
 uer herde or redde / that any of you hath ben ſeared a-
 way from the endeuourment and gonyng about to am-
 plyſie and enlarge his emper: bycauſe he had loſte
 either an eye / a hande / or a legge / or els any other
 membre or parte of his body. But this hote and fer-
 uent deſyre of hauing great and large dominion / as
 euery man is moſte of might and power: ſo it moſte
 troubleth and vexeth or chaſeth his mynde. Alexandre
 nat content to haue walked on ſote through the deſer-
 tes and wilderneſſes of Aſſyke / and that he had con-
 quered the Weſt parte of the worlde / euen vnto the
 ſoꝛmaſt parte of the Decian ſee: and that he had ſub-
 dued the Noꝛthe parte: in the myddes of ſo many
 woundes / and of ſo many miſchaunces / whan his
 ſouldiers refuſed and forſoke ſo farre / ſo harpe / and
 paynfull byages and iornayes: perche thoughte all
 that euer he had done before / was nothing at all: ex-
 cept he had alſo made the Weſt parte / and all nations
 tributary to himſelfe / either by force and violence / or
 elles by the auctorite of his name: yet is but a ſmall
 thinge / wherof I do yet ſpeke. He had purpoſed
 moꝛeouer to paſſe ouer the Decian ſee / and to ſerche
 whether

Of all thynges
 princes deſire
 moſt to enlar-
 ge their domi-
 nion & empire
 and the cotra-
 ry they moſte
 hate.

The insatiable
 ambition of
 great Alex-
 ander.

Rede Plutar-
 che in the lyfe
 of Alexander

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

whether there were any other worlde / & to subdue it
to his power / ye / & at the last (as I suppose) he wold
haue entreprised & attempted to clyme vp into heuen
Suche for the most parte is the wyl / desyre / and ap
petyte of all kynges and princes : all be it they haue
nat all lyke corage and boldnesse . I wyl nat here
reherce / how great synnes / and howe many abhomi
nable thinges haue ben comitted and done / either for
the winnyng & gettyng of emptier & dominion : or els
for the amplyfying & enlargyng of the same / in so mo
che that the one brother hath nat holden his handes
from the murtheryng & kylling of the other / neither the
chyliden haue refrayned from the wycked effusion of
theyr fathers blode / neither the fathers haue refray
ned from the kylling of theyr owne sonnes : So that
the temerite & folyf the lewde boldnes of man / is wote
in nothyng to rage more / or to vse more cruelty / & to
comytte more haynouse offences or synnes : than he
re in this thyng. ye / & which a man may more mar
uayle at / you may see the myndes of olde men herein
no lesse quicke & full of courage : than be the myndes
of yonge men / & of them that be chyliden : no lesse than
of those that be fathers / & haue chyliden / & of kynges
& Princes : no lesse than of tyrauntes. Now if domi
nion than or empire is wote with so gret enforcemēt
to be desyred & sought for : with how moche more in
forcement & busines must it nedes be kepte & mentey
ned : Neither is it so miserable & wretched a thinge /
nat to amplyfie & enlarge the epier / as it is to minish
it & to make it lesse . Neither is it so shamfull a thige
for the / not to toyne or put another mans realme vn
to thyne : as it is that thyne shulde be toynd to y
emptier of an other man / for where we do rede / that cer
tayne kynges or certayn people / haue made some mē
gouernours of theyr kyngdome or of theyr Cytyes :
that was done so / not of the cheffest or principall / nor
of the greattest parte of the empyer : but in a maner of
the hymmoste or worst / & the lest parte thereof / & that
vnder suche maner & condityon / that he to whom suche
gouernaunce & rule was gyuen : shulde alwayes ac

D.ii.

knowledge

The declamation of Lau. Walla

What conside-
 rations/why
 Constantyne
 wolde nat gy-
 ue from hym
 the best parte
 of the Empe-
 re.

knowlege the gyuer to be as lord / and himself to be as
 a minister & seruante vnder him. I be seche you than
 do nat they seme to be of an abjecte byle / & cowardly
 mynde / and nothyng of gentle & high or couragious
 stomake : which do thike & suppose / that Constantine
 dyd alenate & gyue from himselfe the better parte of
 the emper. I do nat meane Rome & Italy / & other :
 but the thre fraunces / where he had made warres &
 batayles / where he alone had of longe season ruled
 and had dominion / where he had sette the rudimen-
 tes and fyrst foundation of his Empyre and of hys
 glozte : seynge also that he was a man / whiche for
 the desire to haue dominion / had made warre vpon
 nations / and whiche persecuting his owne frendes /
 and men of his alyauce with cwyll warre : had de-
 priued them of their emper / and which also had nat
 yet perfectly ouercome & subdued those that were left
 and remayned of the contrary facyon & parte / whych
 also nat only was wonte for hope of glozte & renowne
 to make warre with many nations : but also was of
 necessity compelled to do so / bycause he was prouoked
 ther vnto dayly of the Barbarians / which moreouer
 had abūdance & plentie of chyldren / of kynsefolke / &
 also of frendes / which knew also right well / that the
 senatours & the people of Rome / wolde repugne and
 stryue agaynst his dede / whiche besydes all this had
 proued & founde by experyence the instabilite of y na-
 tions benqueshed & subdued / which welnere at eue-
 ry change of the emperour or gouernoure of the Ro-
 maynes : were wonte to ryse & rebelle / whiche therto
 dyd remembre himselfe / after the maner & custome of
 other emperours nat to haue come to that dominion
 and emper / by the election of the senatours / and con-
 sent of the people or communes / but to haue gotten
 and wonne it with an army of men / with the swerde
 with warre and batayle. What so great and stronge
 cause : what so vrgent and necessarie thinge was
 there / why he shuld (all these thynges nothyng re-
 garded / but vterly despised and sette at nought) be
 wyllyng to vse so excedyng great lybertie. They say /
 bycause

The declamation of Lau. Walla

bycause he was made a christen man. What shulde he therfore depriue himselfe of the beste parte of the empire. ye/ I wyll/ I suppose it was synne/ ye and that great sine and wicked abhominacion/ to raigne than any longer/ and that to be an emperour and gouernour of realmes: coulde nat be ioyned or stande togyther with the Christen religyon. Those that be in auoutry/ those that haue made themselues riche by blury/ those which vntustly do possesse other mens goodes: after that they haue receyued baptisme/ are wonte to restore the wyfe/ to restore the money/ and to restore the goodes/ whiche they had of other mennes. yf you haue this cogitations or thought with you/ O Constantine: you ought to restore to cyties their liberty/ and nat to chaunge the lord/ making them where afoze they were bounde to you: now bounde to another. But some man wyll say/ this was nat the cause/ but that you were moued to do this thing/ onely for the honour of religyon and holynesse or deuotion/ as who wolde saye/ that it were a more holy and deuoute thing to lay from you your empire: tha to administre and gouerne it for the defence and mayntenaunce of faith and religyon. For as touchinge to the receyuers of it: this your donation or gyfte/ shal neither be worshipfull or honest: neither yet profitable vnto them. But if you wyll shewe your selfe a Christen man/ if you wyll shewe tokens of your holynesse and deuotion/ if you wyll do good/ and prouyde/ I do nat saye for the churche of Rome/ but for the churche of god: now specyally and principally play the prince and gouernour/ that you may fyght for the which neither maye/ neither ought to fyght for them selfe/ that you may by your auctorite make the safe & sure from leoperdy: which ar in daunger of traynes and iniuries. It hath pleased almighty god in tymes past/ to open and shewe to Nabugodonosor/ to Cyrus/ to Assuerus/ and to many other kynges and princes: the highe ministerie of the trouthe. yet for all that/ he neuer required of any of them: that he shulde renounce and forsake his emper/ that he shuld

C. iiii. gyue

The declamation of Lau. Walla

All power &
auctorite is
the gyfte of
god.

Reede the .v.
chapit of the
itri. booke of
Kynge.

Dan. 14.
Reede the .xiii.
chapit of the
prophete Da
niel: how he
slewe the dra
gon (whiche
the people of
Babilon dyd
worshippe)
withouth wer
de of staffe.

gyue awaye parte of his kyngdome: but onely that he shulde restore lybertie to the Hebrues / and defende them frome the iniuries and noyaunce of their enemyes / that bozdyed vpon them. This was sufficient to the Jewes: this same also shall be sufficient to Christen men. Constantine you are now made christen. But is it nat a shamfull thinge / that you beyng nowe a Christen emperour / are a smaler prince in dominion and empier: than you were beyng yet an Infydele: for to be a prince or gouernour: is a certayn principall and chefe gyfte of god / wherunto eyn the hethen princes also are iudged to be called & chosen of god. But happely some mā shall say / that Cōstātyne was ealed & delyuered frō his leproy / & therfore it is very lyke to be true / that he wolde make recompence / & paye home agayne with gretter measure: y^e whiche he had receyued / Is it so in dede: Naaman y^e noble mā of Syria / whan he was cured & healed of his leproy by the prophete Helizeus / was wyllyng & content onely to offre gyftes & presentes to him: but nat to gyue the one half of his substaunce & goodes / & wolde Cōstantine offre the one halfe of his epier. It greueth me to make answer to this shamfull lyeng tale: as it were to an historie / of certaynte and vndouted trowth. For this lyeng fable is forged & couñterfaited to y^e lyknes of the historie of Naaman & Helizeus: as that other tale of the dragō in the lyfe of Siluester / is imagined to the lyknes of that fable of the dragō of Well. But though I do graunt these thiges to be true: is there any mētion made of the donation in this historie: no verely nat one worde. But of this we shall speke better & in moze cōueniēt & mete place here after. well / I graunt he was delyuered from the leproy / he toke therfore a Christen minde to him / he was endued with the feare of god / with the loue of god / he was desirous & wyllyng to do him honour & worshippe / what of all this: yet cā nat I for al that he pswaded & brought in mīde to beleue that he wold be willing to gyue away from hissele so great thiges / for as moch as I do see no man / niether Cētyle / for y^e honour of his false goddes / neither Christen mā / for the honore of y^e lyuing

The declamation of Lau. Valla

god: that hath forsaken & layde from himselfe his epier/
 & gyue it to prestes. For none of þ kinges of Israel
 coulde be brought in the mide/ that he wold suture the
 people to go aft þ maner vled afozetyne/ to þ tēple of
 Ierusalē/ for to make sacrifice/ & al because they sere
 & dzeded/ lest the people being put in remēbraūce/ by
 that holy exercyse of religion/ & by the mārestie of the
 tēple: hapely might returne agayn to the kyng of Ju
 da frō whō they had fled & gone away. But how mo
 che gretter a thyng is this: which Constantine is said
 to haue done / & be canse you shall nat flatter & begyle
 your self/ by the reason of this healyng from lepe /
 thynkyng this a sufficient cause/ wherfoze Constantine
 shulde make that graūte. Hieroboam was the fyrste/
 that was chosen of god/ to be kyng of Israel/ & that
 truly frō most vile & lowe cōdition oz estate/ which in
 my iudgement/ is a moze great thyng than it is to be
 holpen & cured frō lepe/ & yet for all that he durst nat
 betake oz delyuer by his kingdome to god/ wylthou
 þ Cōstātine did gyue his kingdom & Emper to god
 which he had nat receyued of god: namely sepyng þ m
 so doyng/ he shulde offēde & greue his owne chyldren
 (which thung could nat haue chaūced to Hieroboam)
 Shulde cast downe his frēdes/ shulde despise those þ
 belonged to him/ shulde hurte his cōūtre/ shuld put
 all men to heuines & sorowe/ & be him selfe as it were
 tourned into a newe man: at þ lest wise doutles there
 shulde nat haue lacked some/ which wolde haue admi
 nistred him/ & put hi in remēbraūce/ & in especiall his
 chyldren / his kynnsfolke / & his frēdes / whom who is
 he which wold nat thynke that they wolde forthwith
 haue gone to the Emperour: Ymagyn therfoze them
 afoze your eyes / after they haue herde Constantines
 mynde: tremblyng and full of feare / makynng haste
 and with sorowfull syghes & teares fallynge downe at
 the knees of theyꝝ prince/ and vsynge these wordes &
 ozatyon/ so as here foloweth vnto him.

3. Regū 12
 Scāpic heres
 of you may fi
 de/ of Hiero:
 boam in the
 thīrd boke of
 kynges/ & xii.
 chapif/ som:
 what ure to
 the ede of the
 same chapif.

3. Regū 12
 Rede in the
 thīrd boke of
 kynges the
 xii. cha.

The ozatyon of Constantines sonnes/ and of his
 kynnsfolke and frendes/ made vnto him full of lamen
 table complaynte/ for that he gothe about without/

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pe/ and contrary to their deseruyng so to take frome
them their inheritaunce. &c.

Ether/ whiche haue ben heretofore the most lo-
uyng and naturall father / that might be in the
worlde vnto your chyldren: Do you in this wise now
depryue & disherite / and put vs your owne sonnes fro
youre lyuelphode and possessyons/ eyn in youre lyfe
tyme/ and as it were refuse vs and forlake vs for your
chyldren. For that you ar willyng and mynded to gy-
ue frome your selfe the best and the greattest parte of
the empyer. we doo nat so greatly complayne therof/
as we do meruayle therat. But we do complayne /
that you do offre it to other men/ with our bothe losse
and also shame and rebuke. For what cause is there /
wherfore you do defraude your chyldren / and do ke-
pe from them the succellon or inheritaunce of the em-
pier/ that they wayted & loked after: whiche haue your
selfe raigned to gyther with your father. What haue
we offended or trespassed agaynste you : or what vn-
kyndnes or vnlouig behauiour haue we bled toward
you : or what agaynste our countrey : what agaynste
the name of the Romaynes / and the maiestie of the
empier : for whiche we seme to you worthy to be de-
pryued by you and put frome the princypall and beest
parte of the empyer / and to be banished frome oure
fathers house/ from the syght of our natyue countrey
from the ayre that we haue ben wonted vnto/ and fro
the auncient and olde custome. Shal we now being
banished men/ forlake our owne houses/ the temples
and the sepulcres of our forfathers/ kynsfolke/ & fren-
des: knowyng nat where or in what regio of y worl-
de we shal become: what: we that ar your kynsfolke
what: we that are your frendes whiche haue so often
tymes stande with you in fyght & batayle / which ha-
ue sene our brythre/ our fathers / our sonnes strickyn
in/ and thruste through afore our face with the wea-
pons of our enemies / & beatyng & tremblyng vpon y
grounde/ and haue nat bene astrayde with the deth of
other men/ but haue bene redye also our selues to dye
for your sake in your cause : are we all together now

The kyns-
folke & fren-
des.

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now thus forsaken of you: we which do beare heed of
 fyres in Rome / & we which now haue the rule & go-
 uernaunce: or in tyme to come shulde be rulers & gouer-
 nours in the Cyties of Italy / in the.iii. partes of Fraun-
 ce / in the.iiij. partes of Spayne / & in other prouinces:
 are we all reuoked or called backe agayne: & are we al
 comaunded to be priuate persones without office / dy-
 gnite / or auctorite: Will you recompence vs this gret
 losse another way / how can you be able to do it accor-
 dyng to our deseruyng / & accordyng to our worthy-
 ues and dygnyte: whan you shall haue gyuen ones
 from you so great a parte of the worlde vnto another
 man / he that before was ruler & gouernour ouer an C
 Nations / wyl you / O Cesar make him gouernour & ruler
 ouer one nation / how fortuneth it that euer this
 thing could come into your mynde: how cometh it to
 passe y you haue thus sodenly forgottē all yours: that
 neither you haue any whit pite of your frēdes. neither
 of your nere kynsmē / no / neither yet of yo^r own sōnes /
 world god / O Cesar (so y your dignite & victo^ry we
 re saued) that it had ben our fortune & chaūce to haue
 ben slayne in baytaylor: rather thā that we shuld euer
 se these thynges: & verely as touchyng your empyre /
 you may do with it accordyng to your own lust & plea-
 sure: & so may you also with vs / onely one thing ex-
 cepted / in which we wyl cōtinually be disobediēt vnto
 vnto deth / that is / that we wyl nat in any wise cease
 frō the honorig of y ydols / to the greates ensample also
 of other men / that you may know how lytell good or
 profyte your larges & lyberalite shal do to the Chri-
 sten religio. For if you do nat gyue y emper to Sit-
 uester: we are willyng & content to be come Christen
 with you / and many men shall take ensample of our
 dede / to do lyke wise. But if you do gyue it to him:
 nat onely we can nat fynde in oure hertes to be made
 christē mē: but also you shal make this name of Christ
 hateful / detestable / cursed / & abhominable to vs / & you
 shal make vs in suche case / y at the last you wil haue
 pyte both of our lyfe & also of our deth / and do nat
 accuse vs of harde hertes and stubburnes: but ac-
 cuse

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case your owne selfe. Wolde nat Cōstantine (thinke you) if he were nat meued by his own accorde and of his owne mynde & free wyl: at the least wise haue ben meued and spured with this oration / except we wyl that all humanyte was plucked out from his brest by the harde rotes. What if he wolde nat haue harde these men / nor regarded their oration or spech / were ther nat be sydes these / some which wold haue repugned & be agaisst this his dede / both with their wordes and also with their hande & power. wolde the senatours and the people of Rome haue supposed: that theselues ought to do nothig in this so gret & weeghty a mater / wolde nat they haue called to the an oratour (as Virgile saith) beige a man of grauyte & auctorite for his loue & benefytes towarde his countre: which shulde make this oration to Cōstantine.

Enedog.

The oration of the senatours & the people of Rome made to Cōstantine / in which they nat only do shewe that Constantine hath no right nor auctorite to gyue the epier from him: but also that they wyl in nowise suffre it to be done / & that for many cōsideratiōs / but rather flee both the recepuer / & him also the gyuer.

Most noble Cesar / if you haue no mynde or remembraunce neither of those that be nere to you neither of your selfe / so that ye wyl neither their inheritance to remaine hole to your sonnes / neither their riches & substaunce to your kynfolke / neither their honours to your frēdes. neither the empyre to your owne selfe: yet for all that / the senatours & the people of Rome can nat forget / or be vnmyndeful of their ryght & of their dignite / for how do you take vpon you so moche power / as to do this of the empyre of Rome: which was neuer wonne or gottē with the effusyō of your blode / but of ours. wil you cut & deuide one body into ii. ptes / & wyl you of one kigdome make two / two heedes & to wylles. And wyl you as it were / offre swerdes vnto two betherne / whiche maye stryue & fyght togider for the inheritance. We do gyue to such cypres

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ftes as haue ben frendly / & haue done good vnto this
 cytie of Rome : we do gyue to the the lybertes of this
 cytie / that they may be citezens of Rome. And do you
 take away from vs the one halfe of the empire / that
 it shall nat aknowledge this cytie the parent & mother
 of it. *In the hyues of bees / if there be bredde two* A symilitude
taken of bees
 kynges or maister bees / we do kyll the tone / whiche
 is the worst of them two. And do you suppose or thin
 ke it mete / in the hyue of the Romayne empire / wher
 you are the onely and the best gouernoure / another
 heed and gouernour to be sette and placed / & that the
 very worst and nat a profytable bee / but an vnprofita
 ble drane. *In this thyng / we do greatly require wil* Of the diuys
syon of them
pire i twayne
shal ensue ma
ny inconueni
ces / & finally
the decay of it
 dome in you most noble emperour / for what shal hap
 pen or come to passe by þ reason herof / if either in the
 tyme of your lyfe / or els after your decease. Barbarous
 nations shall make warre / either agaynst this
 parte of the empire / whiche you do alpenate and gy
 ue from you / or els agaynst the other parte / whiche
 you do reserue and kepe styll to your self. With what
 strength of souldiers / or with what hostes or armies
 shall we than resyst them : We can scarcely with stand
 them now with the might and power of the hole em
 pire : and shall we than be able to resyst the : Shall
 these two membyres or partes of the empire be alwayes
 at vynte and cōcorde togider / the one with the other :
 As we suppose this is nat possyble : for as moche as
 Rome wyl rule and be maistresse / and the other pre
 will nat be seruante and obey. ye / moreover each you
 beyng yet a lyue / within shorte tyme the olde garny
 son reuoked & newe put in their stede / and you beyng
 gone in to your kyngdome / & lyuing sette hens / and
 another man gouernynge & rulyng here : Shall nat
 all thynges than be charged & newe / that is to say / dy
 uers & cōtrary : Comenly whan a kyngdome is deuy
 ded betwene two bretherne / forthwith the myndes of
 the people and commens are deuyded / and they be
 gynne to make warre a monge theym selues / afors
 that they make warre agaynst their ennemyes of
 out natyons. *Who dothe nat see / that the same*
thyng

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thinge shall happen lykewise in this emptier. Do you nat knowe / that in olde tyme this was the principall cause to the nobles and great estates / why they sayd / that they wolde rather dye in the syght of þ people of Rome / than they wold suffre that lawe or statute to be made and to go forth / that parte of the senatours and parte of the comen people / shulde be sente to inhabite the cyte called Uell, in Ethuria / and that .ii. cyties shulde be comune to the people of Rome. Forseyng there was so moch diffencion in one cyte of Rome: Howe moche moze than shulde there be in two cyties. So lykewise in this tyme / if there be so moche discord / debate and strife now in one emptier: (wherof I reposite me to your owne conscience / and to the labours and trauayle whiche you haue taken) what discord shal there be in two emptiers. So to / mozeouer do you suppose or wene that you shall haue anye men from hence: which either shal be wyllyng / or els shall haue conyng & knowledge how to helpe you or ayde you / whan you shall be occupied & busyed with warres & They whiche shalbe made captaynes ouer the soldyers and rulers or gouernours of Cyties / shal be as vnacquaynted with all feates of cheualry / & haue their mides as ferre set away from warre & batayle: as he that maketh them captaynes and rulers. What shall nat either the Legions of Rome / or elles the very prouinces selues / attempte and take in hande to spoyle this gouernour / beyng so vnskyllled of doyng the offyce of a prince & gouernour: & so easly to suffice and take wronge: bycause they shall hope that either he shall make no resistance: or els shall nat reuenge him selfe / nor do any punishment to them. In good fayth I beleue they shall nat contynue in doyng their duety / nat so moche as one moneth space / but þ they wyl rebelle forthwith / & eyn at the very begynnynge of your departyng from hence. What wyl you thā do: what counsayll wyl you than take: whan you shal be pursued and kepte in with double / pe / moze ouer with manyfolde warre and batayle / we can scarcely rule & kepe in good ordre the Nations which we haue conquered

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quered & subdued. Now shal we be able than to resyst
the: whan we shal besydes the haue warre with other
nations also / whiche are fre and unsubdued. Cesar
concerning suche thinges as belonge to your owne
selfe / aduise you what you lyst to do. But this mat-
ter ought to be no lesse cared for of vs: than of you /
your selfe are mortall: but the emptier of the people of
Rome ought to be immortall / and so shall it be as mo-
che as shall lye in our power. ye / and nat onely the
emptier: but also the honestie and shamesfastnes of the
same people. Shall we so in dede: shall we receyue
them to our gouernours and rulers: whose religyon
and secte we do despise: and we that be princes and
rulers of the worlde: shall we become seruauntes and
subiectes to this most vile and wretched man: Whan
the cyte of Rome was taken and wonne by the fran-
che men: the olde auntyent father of Rome could nat
suffre / that their conquerours shulde stroke their ber-
de / or drawe it through their handes. And shall now
so many men of the senatorie orde: / So many of the
pretorie orde: / So many of the order and degree of
Trybunes / So many men that haue ben Consules
and whiche haue victoriously triumphed / suffre them
to be rulers and lordes ouer them: to whom them sel-
ues haue done all maner contumely rebuke & punish-
ment / as it were to lewde or euill bondmen. Shall
these men make heedoffycers: shal they gouerne the
prouinces: shall they make batayles & warres: shall
they gyue sentence of lyfe and dethe vpon vs: Shall
the nobylte of Rome / warre and take wages vnder
them: shall they hope or wayte for honoures: or shall
they gette offyces and rewardes vnder them: what
more greate or more depely petyng wounde may we
receyue or take: than this: Thinke nat / O Cesar /
that the blode of the Romaynes is so chaunged and
gone out of kynde / that they wyl suffre this with a
patient and quiet mynde. and nat thinke it to be by
all maner meanes eschewed and auoyded / whiche in
good fayth / nat the very women could suffre or abyde
but rather wolde brenne themselves togyther with
E their

The declamation of Lau. Galla

their swete chyldren and their howses/ with the woꝝ
shipfull goddess of the same . So that the women of
Carthage haue nat ben moze bolde and stronge her-
ted / than the women of Rome wolde be / For Cesar/
if we had cholen and made you a kynge : verely you
shulde haue great power and lybertie / to do with the
empier of Rome what you pleased / but yet nat so :
that you might minishe / but euen the leaste poynt of
the maiestie therof . Forzels we that hadde made you
king / by the same power we wolde bydde you laye
your kyngdome from you / and wolde depose you /
nat onely you coulde nat be suffred to deuide oꝝ parte
the kyngdome / nat onely you could nat alenate and
gyue from you so many prouices / nat only you could
nat be suffred to gyue the very heed and principall
parte of the kyngdome vitterly and for euer to an Ali-
an and most vile man . we haue made a dogge ouer-
seer and kepar of the folde of shepe / whiche if he had
leuer playe the wolfe / than do his owne offyce and du-
tie : either we wyll dryue him out / oꝝels we wyll kill
him . Now seyng that you haue so longe tyme vled
the offyce of a dogge / in defendyng the folde of the
Romayns : wyl you now at the last ende be tourned in
to a wolfe / so as neuer was any afoze you . And we let
you well to wytte (for as moche as you do compelle
vs / to speake somwhat sharply for our righte) you
haue no power / right / noꝝ tytle in the emper of the
people of Rome . Iulys Cesar wanne thempier and
gatte it by force and byolence . Augustus also gatte it
by byolence / and by ouercomyng and banquesshyng
of the aduersarie partes / made himselfe lorde and go-
uernoure . Tiberius / Caius / Claudius / Nero / Galla
Othouitellus / Vespasiane / and other / either by the
same / oꝝelles by lyke waye / haue spoyled and robbed
vs of our lybertie . you also your selfe / by expellyng
and dryuyng out other / oꝝels by kellyng and slepyng
of other : haue bene made lorde and Emperour . we
passcouer here / that you are nat bozne of matrimony
wherefoze / Cesar (to gyue you playne knowledge of
our mynde) if you lyst nat your selfe to be heed gouer-
nour

The declamation of Lau. Walla

nour of Rome : you haue sonnes. Make one of them
accoꝝdyng to the lawe of nature / gouernour in your
stede / which thyng we wyll both suffre you / and also
desyer you to do . if you wyll nat : we are mynded
and purposed to defende bothe the publyke maiestie /
and the priuate dignyte . For this is no lesse iniurye
to the Cytezens of Rome : than was in olde tyme the
desoylyng of Lucretia / neyther we shall lacke one /
whiche shall be captayne to this people for the recoue
ryng of theyr lybertie : lyke wise as Brute was cap
taine to them agaynst Tarquinc / and fyrst we shall
draue out our swerdes agaynst them / whom you do
make rulers ouer vs : and than afterwarde agaynst
you also / which thyng we haue done agaynst many
Emperours / & that truly for lyghter and smaller ma
ter than this. These wordes doubtles wolde greatly
haue moued & stirred Constantyne : excepte we do iu
ge him to haue ben a stone or a stocke / which wordes
although the people had nat spoken to his face : yet it
was credyble & lykely / that they spake them amonge
theyr selues / and euerywhere dyd grudge / & shewe
them selues discontente / with suche maner wordes.
Let vs than now go and say / that Constantyne was
wyllyng to do Syluester pleasure / whom he dyd bri
ge in daunger of so many mennes hatreded / and of so
many mennes swerdes : that (as farre as I do thynke
or iudge) Syluester shulde scaslly haue lyued þ space
of one day / for if he / and a fewe mo had ben rydde
out of the way : all suspition of so cruell iniury / and
despite or contumely semeth to be clene taken away &
rydde out from the hertes & myndes of the Romans
Go to now : mozeouer / let vs graunt / if we thynke it
posyble : that neyther intreatyng and prayers / ney
ther manacyng or threttes / neyther any other way or
meane coulde any thyng auayle / and that Constantine
doth styl contynue stedfastly in his purpose / neither
wyll in any wyse leue or forsake / or go from the opi
nion / whiche he hath ones taken : who wyll nat yet
agre herevnto / that he wolde haue ben moued & sty
red at the wordes and oration of Syluester : whiche

C.ii.

doutles

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

doutles wolde haue ben after suche maner as here followeth: if this hadde ben a true thing doone matter in dede.

The oration of Siluester to Constantine / in whiche he sheweth it to be neither lafull / neither profitable for him / to receyue Constantines offre / although it were so as it is nat / that Constantine might rightfully / & without any impediment or offending of any persone / giue suche thinges as he offered from himself and his chylzen.

Rede the xxii
chapit of Luc
utic.

Most noble and best disposed prince / and sonne Cesar: I can nat verely but greatly loue and embrace this your so redy and lyberall deuotion / and godly mynde / but yet that you do some dele erre and mistake / and are deceyued in your oppynyon aboute the offryng of gyftes / and makynge of sacrifice to god I do nothyng meruayle / for as moche as you are yet but a nouyce and a yong soldyer in the Christen religion / and Christen warre / as in the old tyme it was nat semely nor conuenient / euery maner beest / whether it were wyld or tame / nor euery maner shepe to be offered vp in sacrifice by the preest: so nat euery maner gyfte or oblation is to be receyued and take of the preest. I am a preest / & a byshoppe / whiche ought to consyder and loke well aboute / what thyng I do suffre to be offered vp at the aultre. Lest peradventure I do nat say / any vncleane beeste: but lest a vipere or a serpent be offered vp there. Therefore this you shall vnderstande / If it lay in your power & lybertye to gyue parte of the Empire and of the Cyty of Rome / the lady & Emperesse of the worlde / to any other man than to your owne chylzen (whiche thyng I do nat suppose or thynke) and if this people of Rome / If Italy / If the other nations coulde suffre / and fynde in theyr hertes to be subiectes vnder the dominion & gouernaunce of them / whom they do hate / and whose relygiō and secte they do refuse and forsake / beyng delyted and blynded with the plesaunte entisementes
of

The declamation of Lau. Walla

of the world (whiche thinge is vnpossyble) yet if you
thinke most loued sonne / that I am any whyle to be
beloued : I can by no meane be perswaded & brought
in the mynde / to assent and agree vnto you / excepte
I wolde be vnlyke my selfe / and forget my condition
and estate / and in a maner renounce and forsake my
lorde Iesu. For your gyftes / or (as you wyll haue
them called) your remunerations or recōpensations
shulde pollute / stayne / or defoyle : ye / and also vtter-
ly destroye the glorie / the innocentie / and the holy ly-
uynge bothe of me : and also of all that shall succede
me / and also shulde stoppe & close vp the way to them
whiche shall be wyllynge to come to the knowledge
of the trouthe. Helizeus wolde nat take any reward
of Naaman that noble man of Syria : whome he
had cured and heled from leproy. And shall I receyue
reward of you : bycause you are cured of the same
disease. He forsooke and refused gyftes. And shall I
suffre hole realmes and kyngdomes to be gyuen to
me. He wolde nat spotte or defyle the personne of a
prophete / and shall I synde in my herte / to defyle the
personne of Christ / whiche I do represent and beare
in me. But why dyd he thinke the personne of a pro-
phete to be defyled by taking of gyftes : verely by cau-
se he might haue semed thā to selle holy thinges / & to
lende forth the gyfte of god / for to haue increace and
auntyment therby / and to nede the worldly socoure
and aydes of them / and to minishe and appayze the
dignyte of his benefyte. He had leuer therfore make
princes and kynges beholding to him / for his bene-
fytes don to them : than him self to be bounde to them
for any benefyte receyued of them. ye / mozeouer he
wolde nat so moche as take any recompence agayne
for his benefytes. For it is a moche moze bleis-
ed thinge (as the lorde sayth) to gyue : than to take and
receyue. The same cause haue I : that Helizeus had
ye / and a moche greater cause / whiche am cōmaun-
ded also of the lorde / that sayd. Heale you those that
be sycke / rayse vp those that be deed / cleanse them that
be full of leproy / cast you out deuyls & wicked spirittes

E.iii, you

p. Reg. 1.
Rehe the iiii.
boke of kyn-
ges the. v. cha-
pit

Actes. 20.

Math. 10

The declamation of Lau. Valla

you haue receyued frely : gyue you also frely. Shal
 I Cesar comytte so great offence / as nat to obey and
 execute the comaundemētes of god / and to pollute and
 distaine my glozie. It is better (as sayd Paule) that
 I dye : than that any man shulde bereue me my glozy
 Our glozy is to make honorable our ministeri afore
 god / as the same Paul sayth. I say to you Gentyles /
 As long as I am the apostle of the Gentiles : I wyll
 glorify my ministerie. Shulde I than / O Cesar / be
 bothe an ensample / and also a cause to other men for
 to offende and synne : I whiche am a Christen man /
 the preest of god / the bishoppe of Rome / and the vic
 care of Christ. Moreouer / howe shall preestes saue
 their innocencie of lyuing amonge riches : amonge
 gret offyces & dignities : amonge the administration
 of seculare and worldly busynesses. Do we therfore
 renounce and forsake erthly thinges : that we mygh
 gette the same thinges more plentifully. And haue
 we therfore cast away our owne priuate goodes : that
 we might possesse other mennes goodes / and the com
 mune goodes. Cyties shall be ours / Trybutes shall
 be ours / Rentes / tolles / and customes / shall be ours.
 And why shall it behaue us to be called Clereci /
 that is to saye Clerkes : if we shall do these thinges
 Our parte our lotte / whiche in the Greke tonge is
 called Cliros / of whercometh this word Clericus is)
 nat þ erthly dominion : but þ heuēly. The Leuites in
 the olde law (whiche were Clerkes) had nat pte with
 their brethren / & wolde you þ we shuld also haue the
 portion of our brethren : wherfore / or for what intente
 shuld I haue riches & possessyōs : whiche am comaun
 ded by þ wordes of my lord / nat to be careful so moch
 as for to morow : & to whō he sayd also these wordes.
 Do nat gather or hurd bp treasur vpon erth. Do nat
 possesse golde / neither syluer / neither money in your
 purses. And it is a harder thing for a riche mā to etre
 into þ kyngdome of heuen : than it is / þ a camell do
 passe through the eye of a nedle. And therfore he chose
 to hymselfe pooze ministers / and those which had for
 taken all thinges / that they might folowe him. And
 he

Rede in Deu
 te. the. x. and
 the xviii. cha.
 & in the boke
 of noumbres
 the xviii. cha.

Math. 6.

Math. 6.

Math. 10

Mark. 10

The declamation of Lau. Walla

he him selfe also was the ensample of pouertie. So Mark. 10
 moche is euen but the handlyng of riches & money /
 enemy & contrary to innocēcie and vertue : nat onely
 the possellion and dominion of them. Onely Ju-
 das which had the bagges / & dyd beare suche thiges
 as were sent : dyde play the falle traytoure. and for Joh. 13.
 the loue of money / wherunto he was wōted: He both
 repreued and betrayed his maister / lord / and god. Ji
 feare therfore o Cesar / lest you wyl make me of Peter
 to be Judas. Herken also what Paule sayth. We
 brought nothyng into this worlde / and it is no doute
 that we shall also cary nothyng with vs from hence. 1. Tim. 6.
 Hauing meate & drinke & clothes to be couered with
 all: Let vs be cōtented therewith / for they that couet to
 be made riche : do fall into temptation / and into the
 snare of the deuyll / and into many desyers / both vn-
 profytable and also noysome / whiche do drowne men
 and cast them downe into dethe and perdition. For
 couetousnesse is the rote of all euylles / whiche cer-
 tayne men desyring haue erred from the faith / and
 haue wrapped themselues in many dolours and sor-
 wes. But thou being the man of god: kee & eschew
 these thinges. And do you Cesar / bydde me recey-
 ue those thinges : whiche I ought to eschewe and a-
 uoyde euen as venome or popson: And mozeouer I
 praye you accordig to your wisdomē consyder / what
 place / tyme / or leysure can be leste among these thiges
 to make sacrifyce / & to do goddes seruyce: The ap-
 postles / whan certayn men gruged & were miscōtent
 that their widowes wer dispised in þ daily ministeri
 made answer / that it was nat mete or cōueniēt / þ their
 selues shuld leaue þ prechig of þ word of god. & mi-
 nistre or serue þ table. And yet to ministre to wido-
 wes / is a farre other maner thying: than to exacte & re-
 quire tributes / rentes / customes / tollage / than to haue
 care & charge of the treasure house / to paye soldiers
 wages / to be entāgled with a thousād lyke cares & bu-
 synelles. No mā / þ is þ soldiā of god: entāgleth hi-
 self with worldly busynesse / saith Paule. Did Aaron
 and other that were of þ stocke of Leuy: medle with
 the

Riches is poi-
son to men of
the church.

Actes 6.

2. Tim. 2.

Rume 3.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Rede in the
boke of Leuitici
the .x. cha.

Rede in the
boke of Numeri.

Here. 48

Johñ. 10.

Johñ. 18.

the administratiō oꝝ oꝝdꝝing of any other thing / than
onely of the tabernacle of the loꝝde. His sonnes / bi
cause they had taken other mennes fyꝛe (whiche was
nat mete noꝝ accoꝝding) into their sencers / were bzꝛent
and consumed with fyꝛe sent from heuen. And do you
byd oꝝ will vs to take the fyꝛe of worldly riches / whi
che is bothe foꝝbydden and also prophane : into the
holy sencers / that is to say / into to the offyce and woꝝ
kes belonging to pꝛeestes. Eleazar / Whinees / and
other bisshoppes & ministers eithꝛ of the tabernacle
oꝝ of the temple : dyd they administꝛe oꝝ medle with
the oꝝdꝝing of any thinge / but onely of that / whiche
belonge to the doinge of sacrificyꝛe / and to the woꝝ
shippꝝng of god. Do I say / dyd they administꝛe :
nay moꝝouer might they haue administꝛed any other
thing : if they wolde satisfye and fullfyll their offyce
and dutie : whiche thinge if they wolde nat do : they
shulde here the curse of the loꝝde / which sayth. Curs
ed be they : whiche do the woꝝke of the loꝝde reche
lessly / whiche execration oꝝ curse / though it may falle
vpon all men : yet moꝝte of all and principally vpon
pꝛeestes. O / howe great is the offyce of a bisshoppe :
how greate a thinge is it / to be heed of the churche :
how greate a thyng to be made pastoz and ouer seer /
and gouernour of so great a folde of shepe : of whose
hande shall be required the blode of euery lambe and
shepe / that shall perishe and be lost. To whom also
it was sayd. If thou louest me moꝝe then other do /
so as thou confellest and knoledgest thyselfe to do : fe
de my lambes. Agayne / if thou doest loue me / so as
thou sayest : fede my shepe. And the thirde tyme also /
if thou louest me : fede my shepe. And do you Cesar
wyl me to fede also gottes and hogges : whiche can
nat be fedde noꝝ kepte all of one / and the same herdes
man. Belydes this / you ar willyng and about ward
to make me a kynge / oꝝ rather an emperour / that is
to say / heed & cheif of kiges. But our loꝝd Iesu Chꝛist
beyng both god & man / kynge & pꝛeest / whā he sayd
his self was a kynge : Herke of what kingdome he did
speke. My kingdome (saith he) is nat of this worlde.
foꝝ

The declamation of Lau. Walla

if my kingdome were of this world/ doubtles my ser-
uauntes wolde fyght for me. And what were the firste
wordes of his preachinge / and the thinge whiche he
oftentimes reherfed in his sermons. was it nat this?
Do you penaunce / for the kingdome of heuen is ap-
proched and drawen nere. The kingdome of god is
approched: to the which the kingdome of heuens shal
be compared and lykened. Did he nat whan he spake
these wordes/declare/ that the seculare kingdome do-
the nothing apperteyne to him? And therfore nat on-
ly he dyd nat despyse / nor seche for suche maner king-
dome: but also/ whan it was offred to him/ hi wolde
nat take it. For whan he perceyued/ and vnderstode
vpon a certayn tyme / that the people had purposed &
appoynted in their myndes / to take him / and to ma-
ke him kyng: he fledde into þe solytarynes of the mou-
taynes / whiche thyng he hath gyuen and taught to
vs / that be his successours / for to be folowed/ nat o-
nely by his example: but also by his precepte and cō-
maundemēt / sayng in this wyse. The prynces and
gouernours of the gentiles are lordes ouer the. And
they whiche ar greatest / do exercise power and auc-
torite vpon them. It shal nat be so among you/ but
who so euer is wylling among you to be made great-
test: let him be your mynistr. And who so euer wol-
de be chefest among you; shal be your seruaunte / ly-
ke wyse as the sonne of man hath nat come to be myni-
stred vnto: but to mynistr / and to gyue his lyfe for
the redemption of many. God in the olde tyme (to let
you vnderstand/ O Cesar) dyd constitute and set iu-
ges ouer the chyldren of Israell to gouerne them: and
nat kynges / & he did hate the people desirynge to haue
a kyng/ & that he gaue the a kyng: it was done/ be-
cause of the hardnelie of theyr hertes/ eyn lykwyle
as for the same cause. He had permytted and suffred
them to diuorce from theyr wyues/ which thyng. He
had reuoked in the new law of the gospel/ & shal I thā
take o: receyue a kyngdome: whiche am scasey per-
mitted o: suffred to be a iuge? Do you nat know (say-
th Paule) that sayntes and holy men shal Iuge of
this

Christes king-
dome: is nat
of this world

Math. 4.

Joh. 6.

Christ fledde
whan the peo-
ple wolde ha-
ue made him
kyng. cure
them.

Math. 20

1. Reg. 8.

Deut. 24

Math. 19

1. Cor. 6.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

this world : And if the worlde shall be iudged by you
 are you nat vnmete personnes to iudge of small tri-
 fles : Do you nat knowe that we shall iuge aungels :
 Howe moche more than / seculare thynges : Therfore
 if you shall haue seculare iugementes : make them iu-
 ges in suche maters / whiche are mooste contemptible
 and of least reputation in the church e or cōgregation
 But the iudges dyd onely iudge of matters being in
 contrauersie and strife betwen partie and partie / they
 dyd nat also exacte tributes . And shall I than exacte
 them : whiche do knowe that our lord demaunded
 of Peter / of whom the erthly kynges toke tribute or
 payment of money / of sonnes : or elles of forayners
 and straungers : And whan Peter had made answer
 that of forayners : Christ sayd agayne. Than are the
 sonnes free. Wherfore / O Cesar / if all men be my son-
 nes / as certaynly they be : All men shall be free / and
 no man shall paye any thing. I haue no nede therfore
 of this your donatton or giste / wherby I shall gette
 nought els but labour / suche as in any wise I neither
 ought / neither may suffre or abide . ye / and wherby
 I shall mozeouer of necessite be constrainned to exer-
 cise power and auctorite to kille and slee / to punish
 malefactours / to make batayles and warres / to rans-
 sake and spoyle cities / & to destroy regions with speer
 and swerde. For I can nat beleue / that I could other
 wise than by these meanes be able to saue and mayn-
 tayne those thynges / which you had giuen to me. And
 if I shall do these thynges : Am I a bisshoppe : Am
 I the bicare of Christ : Shall I nat than here him
 thondryng and terryble sayng these wordes to me .
 My house shall be called the house of prayer to all na-
 tions. And thou hast made it a denne of theues. I ca-
 me nat into the worlde (sayde the lord) to Iudge or
 condempne the worlde : but to delyuer it / & shal I which
 am his succellour be the cause of many mēes deeth : to
 whom it was sayd also in the person of Peter. Tour-
 ne thy swerde agayne into his owne place / for who so
 euer shall take the swerde in hande : shall perishe
 with the swerde . It is nat lauffull for vs so moche
 as

Matt 17

Esate 56.

Mark 11.

Joh. 12.

Mat. 26.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

as to defende our selues with the swerde / for Peter wolde haue defended his mayster / whan he byd cut of the seruauntes care / And wyl you that we shall occupie the swerde for the cause of getyng / or deteynyng and sauyng of ryches. Our power: is the power of y kaves / wptnesse the lorde whan he sayd to the / wyl I gyue the kaves of the kyngdome of heuens / what so euer thyng thou shalt bynde vpon erthe: it shall be bounde also in heuens / and what so euer thyng thou shalt lose vpon erthe: it shall be also loosed in heuens & y gates of hell shall nat preuaile against them. No thyng can be added or putte to / for to the augmētyng of this power / of this dignite / of this kyngdome / with which who so euer is nat contente: he despyeth a certayn other kyngdome to him selfe of the deuyll / whiche was bolde to say to our lorde. I shall gyue to the al the kyngdomes of the worlde: if thou wylt sal downe vpon the grounde / and worshyppe me. Wherfore Cesar (take no displeasure with that / whiche I shall say) play nat the deuylls parte with me / byddyng me / lykewyse as he bad Christe / to receyue the kyngdomes of the worlde / of your gyfte / for I had leuer despyse them: than possesse them / & that I may now speke somewhat of the infydeles / but whiche I trust / and hope shall be made faythfull beleuers: do nat make me to them / of the aungell of lyght / an aungell of darkenes / whose herites I desyre and couete to induce to the fayth / and to godly luyng: and nat to put the yoke of scrupitude and boundage vpon the neckes of them / and wyth the spirytual swerde / whiche is the worde of god / and nat with the swerde of yren / to subdue them vnto me / lest they myght be made worse / lest they myght wrynche or byrke agayne / and rebelle / lest they myght strike me with theyr horne / lest they myght be prouoked throughe myne erroure and faute / to blaspheme and speake euill of the name of god. My desyre is to make them my derely beloued sonnes / and nat my bondemen / to adopte and chose them to my chyldren / nat to bye theym / to gendre and begette theym spyrtyually / and

Matt. 16
The power of ecclesiasticall persons whiche was geue to them by Christ: is the power of the keyes.

Spiritualme nat contente with the power of the keyes: desyre worldly kyngdomes or the deuyll.

Matt. & Luke .4.

Ephel, 6.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

and nat to make them my bonde seruauntes / to offre
the soules of them / a sacrifice to god : and nat their
bodies a sacrifice to the deuyl. Learne you at me
(saith the lord) whiche am mylde and humble herted

Math. 11.

Take my yoke vpon you / and you shall fynde rest
to your soules. for my yoke is swete and plesaunte/
and my burdayne lyght and easie. Whose sentence in
the mater here folowynge (to conclude now and make
an ende) take you as gyuen bytwene you & me. Gyue

Math. 22

to Cesar those thynges which apperteyneth to Cesar
and to god those thynges which belong to god. Wher
fore it is so / that neither you oughte to leue and forsake
your posseliyons : neither I oughte to receyue
and take those thynges / that belong to Cesar / which
surely I wyll neuer receyue : although you wolde
offre them to me a thousand tymes. At this oration
of Syluester / so godly and accordyng for an Aposto-
lyke man. What coulde Constantine haue to lape a-
gaynst it for himselfe any longer : Seyng than that
it is thus : Are nat they which say þ this donation of

To how ma-
ny ptes they
are iniurious
to which beleue
the donation
of Constantine
to be true.

of Constantine was made in very dede / iniuri-
ous agaynst Constantine / whom they iuge to haue
ben wyllyng to dysherite his owne chyldren / & to we-
ken and febleyshe the empire of Rome : Are they nat al
so iniurious to the senatours & the people of Rome/
to Italy / & to all the West parte of the worlde / whom
they suppose to haue suffred the empire to be chaūged/
agaynst both goddes lawe and mans lawe : Are they
nat also iniurious agaynst Syluester / whō they iu-
ge to haue accepted the donation humete & vnsemyly
for so holy a man as he was : And are they nat iniuri-
ous also to the pope / to whom they do iuge it laifull/
to possesse erthly kyngdomes / & to gouerne the empire
of Rome : and yet all these thynges hether to spoken &
reherced : appertayne here vnto only that it might ap-
pere and be open / that Constantine among so many
impedimentes & lettes / wolde neuer gyue from him
selfe vnto Syluester / the grettest parte of the Ro-
mayne Empire / whiche thyng these men

do say that he dyd.

The

The declamation of Lau. Walla

The seconde princypall parte of this oration / in
whiche the autho^r sheweth / that / although both Con
stantine might haue ben suffred / and had ben willing
to make this gyfte / and Siluester also willyng to ac
cepte it (the contrary wherof hath ben afoze proued)
yet dyd neuer Constantine deliuer possessyō to Silue
ster / but the same thinges remayned alwayes styll in
the handes and gouernaūce of themperours. &c.

But go to nowe / mozeouer / if we shulde beleue
this donation / wherof your writte maketh me
tion : it ought also to be sure & out of dout / that Syl
uester dyd accepte the same gyfte . Now therof haue
we non euydence : wherby we might be assured and
put out of dout . But parauēture you wyl saye / it is
credyble and lykely / that he dyd accept that graunt
ye / ywylle / I thinke so / and that nat onely he dyd ac
cepte and alowe that donation : but also that it is cre
dyble and lykely / that he dyd craue & deliuer it . And
that throughe continuall & importunate requestes and
prayers : He gat it of Constantine / in a maner whe
ther he wold o^r nat. Why / I say / do you cal that thig
credible : which is contrary to the opinion of al men
And all be it there is mention made of the donation
o^r gyfte in the pagine o^r writte of the priuiledge : yet
is nat therfore to be supposyd & thought / that the dona
tion was accepted & taken. But rather contrary wise
bycause there is no mention made of the acceptation :
it is to be sayd / that it was nat gyuen . So / than it
maketh moze agāst you / that Siluester refused this
gyfte : than it maketh with you / that Constantine wold
gyue it / & a benefyte is nat gyuen to any man agāst
his wyl : if he lyst nat to receyue it . And we ought
nat onely to deme / that Siluester dyd refuse these
gyftes : but also that he dyd secretly shewe / that nei
ther Constantine might rightfully gyue them / neither
himselſe lawfully receyue o^r take them. But O blinde
and alwayes folysh / and myladydled couetousnesse
Let vs graunt that you could also bringe forth the wri
tynges / whiche were true / incorrupte / sincere / and
perfyte

The declamation of Lau. Walla

persyte of the assente and agremente of Syluester to
 the same: Dothe it folowe therfore / that those thyn-
 ges hath ben gyuen in very dede / which are contey-
 ned in the wrytynge: Where was possellpon gyuen?
 Where was the delyuering bp in to his handes: For
 if Constantine dyd gyue to Syluester nothing elles
 but onely the dede or wrytig: than was nat his mynde
 to do Syluester a pleasure or good turne: but to gyue
 him a mocke. you saye it is very lykely / that he / whi-
 che doth gyue any thinge: dothe also delyuer possel-
 syon of the same. Take hede / and be ware what you
 speke / seing that it is vndoubted / that possellpon was
 neuer delyuered: and it is also doubte / whether euer
 the ryght and tytyle were gyuen or nat. It is lyke to
 be true / that he which gaue nat the possellpon wolde
 nat gyue the right and tytyle. Is it nat vndouted and
 of certaynte / that possellpon was neuer delyuered:
 whiche thynge who so euer wyll denye: he is without
 all honestie / and vtterly shames. Dyd Constantine
 brynge or lede Syluester in to the Capitoly house /
 as it were one tryumphing / amonge the reioysynges
 & ioyfull shewtynges of the myltitude of the Citi-
 zens of Rome / beyng yet infydels and hethen men:
 Dyd he set him in a chayre or seate of golde / all the
 hole company of senatours beyng assystent and stan-
 dyng by: And dyd he comaunde the heed offycers / eche
 one of them accor dyng to his dignyte / to salute him
 and to honour him / as kynge or chefe gouernoure:
 These be the thynges / whiche are wonte to be done
 towarde newe princes: and nat onely some one pa-
 lace (as for example the palace of Lateran) to be de-
 lyuered. Dyd he afterwarde lede hi about through
 all Italy: wente he with him to all the thre partes of
 Fraunce: Dyd he go with him in to both Spaynes:
 Wente he with him to the Germaynes / and to the res-
 sydue of the West regions: or if they both were greued
 and lothe to trauayle in their owne persones ouer so
 great a parte of the worlde / and so many dyuerse lan-
 des and countrees: whom made they their deputies:
 and to whom assygned they so great an office: which
 shulde

The declamation of Lau. Walla

shulde bothe in the emperours seide deliuer posses-
 syon: and in Syluesters seide receiue and take it:
 Doubtlesse these must nedes haue ben some great men
 and of excellent auctorite: and yet who they were: no
 man can tell. In the tyme of our remembraunce (by
 cause I wyl passe ouer the auncient ensamples of olde
 tyme) we neuer sawe it other wise done: whan any mā
 hath ben made lord: either of any cyte: regyon: or
 prouince: but that so onely posselssyon hath ben in-
 gged to be gyuen and deliuered to him: if they olde
 officers be deposed or put downe: and new be ma-
 de and put in their sedes: Though Syluester wold
 nat at that tyme haue requyred this to be done: yet
 dyd it appertayne and belonge to the magnificencie
 of Constantine (that he might declare: nat onely by
 his wordes: but also by his dede: that he dyd gyue pos-
 selssyon to Syluester: to haue deposed his owne de-
 putes: lycutenantes: and other officers: & to coin-
 maunde other to be put into their roumes: by the no-
 mination & assignement of Syluester. No man can
 saye: that posselssyon was deliuered or gyuen by: whi-
 che remaineth still in the handes of the same men /
 whiche possessed it before: and whan the newe lord
 dare nat put them from it. But suppose: if this thinge
 also doth nothing: let or withstand: but that we may
 thinke neuer the lesse: that Syluester had posselssyon
 and let vs saye: that all thinges were than admini-
 stred and done contrary to the commune maner and
 custome: & contrary to nature: I pray you: after that
 Constantine was gone awaye: what gouernours and
 rulers dyd Syluester make of the prouince or cytes:
 what warres or batayles made he: what nations that
 were rebelles dyd he oppresse or holde vnder: or by
 what captaynes & officers did he these thinges: you do
 make answer & saye: we do knowe none of all these
 thinges. Merely I do thinke the same. All these thin-
 ges were done in the nyghte tyme: and therefore no
 man coulde se them. Go to now furthermore: I pray
 you: was Syluester in posselssyon: Who than dyd
 put him out of posselssyon: for he was nat euer conty-

I bytter
mocke.

J. ii. nually

Wp. 10

The declamation of Lau. Walla

mually in possessyon/ neither any of his successours /
 at the least wife/ vnto Gregorius Magnus / whiche
 also was without possessyon . Nowe who so euer is
 out of possession/ and can nat proue that himself hath
 ben dzuen out of possessyon : doutlesse that man had
 neuer possessyon . And if he wilt saie / that himselfe
 hath had at any tyme possession : he his starke madde
 Seest thou here nowe / how I do proue the also to be
 madde : For elles : tell thou me / who droue the pope
 out of possessyon : Constantine himselfe / or his chyl-
 dren/ or Iulianus/ or els any other empour : Shewe
 the name of him / that dyd put him from possessyon .
 Shewe the tyme whan it was done . Shewe wher-
 fore he was fyrst expelled . Wherfro nexte / & so forth
 in orde . Whether was he expelled by sedicion and
 manslaughter / or elles without these thynges : Dyd
 al nations conspire agaisht him to gether at one time /
 or els whiche of them began fyrst : What : Dyd no
 man at all helpe . or aide him : At somoch as any of
 those / whiche had ben made gouernours & rulers of
 cyties & prouinces by Syluester / or by some other po-
 pe : Dyd he lefe all to gether in one daye : or els by ly-
 tell & lytell . One pte at one tyme / & a nother parte at
 a nother tyme : Dyd he & his heed offycers make resi-
 stence : or els dyd they at the first rebellyon & busynes
 gyue vp their possession & offices / & put theselues fro
 all to gether : What : the conquerours & ouer comers :
 dyd they nat make hauocke / with killig & sleing those
 wretches & vile sorte of men / whome they iuged vn-
 worthy of the emper : to the reuengyng of their owne
 cotumelie & iniurie : to the defence & mayntenaunce of
 the dominio : which they had wone & gotten by force
 and violence / to the contempte & despyte of our relygio /
 and also to the example of the that shulde come after
 their tyme : Did no man of all those / whiche were
 banquellshed & ouercome : stie or rone away : Did no
 man lurke and hide himselfe : was no man afraide : O
 meruaylouse & wonderfull chaunce / that the empire of
 Rome / which was gotten & wonne with so great la-
 bours / with so moche blode shed shulde so pefably /
so quyt

The declamation of Lau. Valla

So quietly / either be gotten or lost of the Christen people: that no bloodshedding / no warre / neither yet any complaine hath come bytweene / and also (which thinge a man ought no lesse to mervaille at) that no man knoweth or can tell / by whom this thinge was done / nor at what tyme / nor howe or which waye / nor how longe it was in doing. A man might suppose & went: that Syluester had reigned in the wooddes amonge trees: nat at Rome amonge men / and that he was detruen out of possession / by the winter showers and colde stormes: & nat by men. Who is he that doth nat knowe / if he be any thing acquainted with histories: how many kynges / how many consules / how many dictatours / how many protectours of the common people / called Tribuni plebis / how many controllers / iuges of many maners / called Censores / how many chamberlaynes called Cediles / have ben created and made in Rome: And there is nat one of so great a multitude & nombre / of so auncient & olde antiquite unknowne to vs. We do know also / how many noble captaynes have ben of the Athenienses / how many of the Thebanes / howe many of the Lacedemoniās. We have knowledge of all their fyghtes / battayles and skirmishes / made both on the lāde & on t̄ water. We do know also / who hath ben kinges & gouernours of the Perses / of the Medes / of the Chaldeis / & of the Hebrewes / & of many other peoples & nations: & howe every one of these hath receyued their kygdomes / or hath holden & kepte it / or how they haue lost it / or haue recovered it againe. But the emper of Rome / or elles the emper of Syluester: vnder what maner it hath begone / or how it hath ended. whan / & by whom no man can tell / no: it is nat knowen / nat so moch as in the cyte of Rome it self. For I do aske & demaunde of you / what recordes or what authours can you bringe forth of those thinges: you do answer & say / that you can bringe forth none. And are you nat a shamed than / you beestes rather than men: to say that it is lykely that Syluester hath had possession. But saying that you can bringe forth no proffes for your parte: I

I. iii. shall

The declamation of Lau. Aella

shall on the contrary parte shewe evidently / that Cō
stantine / euyñ vnto þ last day of his lyfe. And so forth
from hi / that all the emperours ethe of the after other
had the possessiōs of these realmes: so þ you shal nat
haue one worde to speake. But it is a very hadre thin
ge / and a great mauntri / as I suppose: to shewe this.
Turne ouer & rede þ histories both in Greke & lacyñ /
Rede the other authoꝝ & wꝛiters whiche haue made
mētion of those tymes / yet shall ye fynde none / that
disagreeeth from other in this thinge. Let one testi
monic of a thousande suffice. Eutropius / which sawe
Constantine / which saw the thre sonnes of Constantine
whom he lefte behynde him / emperours of þ worlde
whiche writeth in this wise of Juliane / which was
sonne to Cōstantines brother. This Julianus / whi
apostata. che was a deacon in þ church of Rome / & made empe
roure also: fell from the true faith / to worshippige of
ydoles. He gouerned the ēpiet / & with great prepa
ration & ordinaunce he made warre bpō þ Pārtians
At the whiche biage & settig forth I was present also
myne owne selfe. This Eutropius (I say) neither
wolde haue passed ouer with spiece the donatiō of the
empier of þ West regiōs / neither wolde he haue wꝛit
ten a lytell after / in this wise of Iouliane / which suc
ceded next after Juliane. He made peace with Sas
pore. A nedfull peace verely: but a shamfull peace /
chaūging þ bondes of thepiet / & gꝛuēg bp a certayn
portion of þ Romayne ēpiet / which thige neuer hap
pened afoze: sꝛys þ Romayne ēpiet was fyrst begon.
Whoeuer our legions at Claudiū propontiu Tele
stinū / & at Numantiū in Spayne / & in Numidie / in
token of subiection / were caused to passe through vn
der a spere (as it was the maner than) but yet was
there none of the bownes oꝝ termes of the Empier gꝛ
uen & deliuered bp. Here in this place it pleaseth me
to speke to you / þ popes of Rome: which haue dyed
of very late tyme / & to the Eugēie which arte alꝓue /
but yet with the leaue & lycence of Felix / why do you
so proudeby bragge & bolle of the donatiō of Cōstan
tine: why do you so oftentymes manace & threttē cer
tayn kynges & princes: that you wyl reuēge þ takynꝝ

*Iouliane the
perour nexte
successour to
Juliane the
Apostata.*

The Dedication of Lau Talla

[illegible]

The declamation of Lau. Calla

that thyng (which he knewe shulde nat come to passe)
 He gaue that: which he could nat delpue: He gaue
 that: which he knewe was nat possyble to come into
 the hãdes of him/ to whom it was gyuen: afore that
 it shulde be destroyed. He gaue a gyfte/ which shulde
 neuer be of strengthe or stande in any stede / or at the
 least / nat afore J. C. peres were expired. To speke
 this/ or thanke it: is playne madnesse. But now it is
 tyme (lest I be made to longe & tedious) seyng that
 we haue cutte & mangled the cause of our aduersarys
 to giue it his dedly wounde/ & to kyl it with one stroke.

The thyrde princypall parte of this oration / in
 which the autho: sheweth / that Constantine was be-
 come Christen afore that Siluester was pope/ & that
 those gyftes whiche Constantine gaue: were gyuen to
 the pope nexte after Siluester / which same also were
 but meane or small thynges/ & no moze than sufficient
 to the popes sustentation.

Every historie almost/ which is worthe the na-
 me of an historie: telleth and maketh mention/
 that Constantine/ eyn whan he was a childe: became
 Christen with his father Constantius/ & long tyme a-
 fore that Siluester was pope/ as Eusebius þ writer
 of the ecclesiasticall historie / whome Ruyne a man
 right excellently lerned/ hath trãlated/ into the latyne
 tonge / and hath also added two boke of his owne
 tyme / which were bothe of them welnere in Cõstan-
 tines tyme. Besydes this/ we haue also þ testimonie
 & witness of þ pope of Rome/ whiche nat onely was
 present at the doyng of these thynges: but also bare a
 great rule in the same/ beyng also nat a witness: but
 the autho: or doer / nat þ teller or rehercer of another
 mãnes busynes: but of his owne. He whome I do
 meane: is Melchades þ pope nexte afore Siluester
 which saith in this wise. The church was come eyn
 into this popnt now: þ nat only people & natiõs/ but
 also the princes of Rome / whiche helde thempier of
 the worlde: dyd come together to the faith of Christ
 and to the sacramentes of the faith. Among whom /

Constantine was made
 Christen of a childe/ long a-
 fore that Siluester was
 pope.
 Eusebius the
 autho: of the
 ecclesiasticall
 historie.

Melchades
 pope nexte a-
 fore Siluester.

The declamation of Lau. Valla

the most deuoute man Constantine fyrst of all other openly getting the faith & belefe of the trouth: gaue lycence throughe out all þe worlde/ to as many as were vnder his dominion and gouernaunce / nat onely to be made Christen men: but also to buylde churches/ and he ordayned landes to be gyuen. And to be shott the afore reherfed emperoure gaue exceeding gret giftes / and he began first the buyldinge of the churche of saynt Peter/ in so moche that he did forsake his emperiall seate or place: and graunted it to the vse and behofe of blessed Peter/ & his successours. No/ here Melchirades maketh mention of nothyng that was gyuen by Constantine: but onely the palace of Laterane/ and certayne other lādes / of whiche Gregorie very ofte maketh mention in his regestres. Where than are they nowe/ whiche do nat suffice it to be doubted / whether the donatyon of Constantine be of value and strengthe / or nat seying that the sayde donatyon or gyfte bothe was made afore Syluesters tyme / and was also of priuate thynges onely & which thyng although it is playne & euident ynough: yet that nat withstanding / we must somewhat dispute & reason of that priuilege/ which these folyshe felowes are wonte to alledge and bring forth.

¶ The fourth principall pte of this oration/ in which the autho: sheweth it to be vntuly sayde/ that the coppye or example of this donatyon is founde in the decrees/ or elles taken out of the historie of saynt Syluester/ and also declarcth what folyshe / what impossible/ what barbarous / and what repugnant & contrary thynges/ with other vnreasonablenes / is cōtayned in the sayde copie. & besydes this he maketh mention of the sayned or friuolouse donatyon of certayn other emperours. And laste of al he sheweth/ that in case it were/ so that Syluester or any other pope had at any tyme possessed these thynges: yet being ones put out of possessyon/ & so long cōtinuig dispossessed as they haue done: they cā nat now after so long space of tyme clayme the agayn/ neither by the lawe of god nor man.

And

The declamation of Lau. Valla

The pagine
of the donati
on/ is nat fou
de in the olde
decrees collec
ted by Grati
an.

Dalea in la
tin signifiy
eth chaffe.

And fyrst of all to begyne with / nat onely that
felow which wolde sayne seme to be Gratian
whiche added certayn thynges to the worke of Grati
an/ is to be reprevued of lewde vnshamfastnes: but al
so they are to be reprevued of ignoraunce and folythe
nes/ which do wene oꝝ suppose/ that the pagine of the
privilege is contayned in Gratiens worke / whiche
thyng neyther any lerned man dyd euer suppose: &
agayn it is nat founde in the moſte auntyent and eldest
bokes of the decrees/ & if in any place Gratian shuld
haue made mention of this thige/ he shuld haue done
it nat in this place (where they do put it interrupting
and bryeking of the orde and contexte of his oration
and speche) but rather in that place/ where he spekech
of the paction & couenaunte of Ludowike. Besydes
this there are two thousand places in the decrees: whi
che do proue this place nat to be true / of the whiche
that place is one / where the afore reherſed wordes of
Helchiades are alleged. Some men do say/ that he
whiche added this chapytour to the decrees: was cal
led Dalea/ either foꝝ that this was his very right na
me: oꝝels bycause these thynges/ whiche he dyd adde
oꝝ put to of his own/ if they be cōpayred to Gratiane
are iuged to be / as it were / chaffe nere to the coꝛne.
But how so euer the trouthe is concerning this: it is
a very great shame & an vnshamefully thinge to beleue /
that collector & gatherer of the decrees/ either dyd nat
know these thynges / whiche haue ben added & put to
syns of Dalea: oꝝels dyd set greely by them / and ac
compe and take them foꝝ true thynges. This is well
than/ we are sufficed/ we haue the victoꝝy & our owne
purpose. First that Gratiane doth nat saye this thige
so as they helyed him: but mozeouer he denyeth it
and proueth it false and vntrue / as easily it maye be
perceyued by a thousand places and mo. Seconda
rylye / that they do alledge foꝝ theym selues one man
alone / and that suche one as is vnknewen / and of
none auctoꝝite / a tryſter / and so folyſhe also: that
he hath added certayne thynges of his owne say
nyng to the sayd Gratiane: whiche can nat agree
with

The declamation of Lau. Walla

with the other sayinges of the same Gratian/ is this
 than this authour/ that you bryng forth: do you vse
 the testimonie of him alone? Do you recite a folyshe
 wrytting of him in paper/ for the confyrmation of so
 gret a matter: agaynst six hundred kynges of poffes?
 But I loked for it / that you shulde haue shewed by
 tell Images of golde/tyles & wrytynges in marble/
 and a thousand authours. But you do say/ that Pa-
 lea him selfe bryngeth forth the authoꝝ / and sheweth
 the very fountayne of the historie / and calleth to wit-
 nesse Gelasius the pope/with many other bishoppes
 Of the historie (sayth he) of Siluester whiche bles-
 sed Gelasius in the counsell of .lxx. bishoppes repor-
 teth to be redde of Catholyke men/and saith/ that ma-
 ny churches doth folow this same maner / accordyng
 to the olde aunciēt vlage/in y which historie it is red-
 de/ Constantyne .xx. And a gret deale befoze where
 a ntion is made of bokes whiche are to be redde / &
 which nat to be redde: he hath sayd also/ we do know
 that the actes of saynte Siluester the bishoppe are
 redde of many catholyke men in the cyte of Rome: al-
 be it that we do nat know y name of him that wrote
 them/ and the churches accordyng to the olde vlage
 do folowe the same. Oh/here is a wonderfull autho-
 rite/ a meruaylouse testimonie and recorde/ & a stron-
 ge & inuincyble probacion. I graunt you this / that
 Gelasius sayd this: where he speaketh of the counsel
 of .lxx. bishoppes / dyd he therfore say that the pag-
 ne oz copie of the preuilege is redde in the lyfe oz ac-
 tes of saynte Siluester: and that at Rome: the auc-
 torite of whiche churche many other churches do fo-
 lowe/ whiche thyng I do nat denye: but I graunt/
 confesse/ and knowlege/ ye/ and I do offre my selfe to
 be a wytnesse therof with Gelasius/ but what ca this
 thyng profyght oz auayle you: but onely that it
 myght appere/ that you wolde haue lyed/ in alled-
 gyng and bryngyng forth witnelles and recordes.
 His name is nat knowen / which added this to y de-
 ctees/ & yet he alone doth say this thyng/ his name
 is nat knowen/ which wote y historie of Siluester
 and

The declamation of Lau. Walla

and yet he alone is brought forth/ and that falsly for a
wytnesse and a recorde. And do you good and wyse
men iuge this to be sufficient/ y^e/ and more than suffi-
cient / to the testimonie and witnessyng of so greate
a matter. But consyder now and se/ how great diffe-
rence there is betwene your iugemente and myne. I
truly : al though this priuylege were contayned in y^e
hystorie of Syluester: wolde nat for all that thynke
that it were to be accompted and taken for true. For
as moche as that hystorie is none hystoric: but a fap-
ned and a shamelesse lyeng tale / as I shall shewe and
declare hereafter / and also/ seing that none other mā/
namely beyng of any auctorite: dothe make any men-
tion of this priuylege. And Iacobus Moraginen-
sis/ whiche bare great fauour and loue to the clergie
as beyng hymselfe an arche bisshoppe: yet in his stori
of saintes lyues/ and of the actes of holy men/ spekerh
nat one worde of the donation of Constantine: but
passeth it ouer with sylence / as beyng but a lyeng fa-
ble / and nat worthy to be put among y^e actes of Syl-
uester / in whiche dede he gyueth in a maner sentence
against them: if any wolde haue put these thynges in
wrytyng. But I wyl drawe that falsyfier and forger
of wryttes/ and very chaffe in dede/ and nat whete: in
to iugement/ wrythyng his necke/ whether he wyl or
nat. What sayst thou false forger of wrytyng? How
fortuneth it/ or wherof is it long? that we do nat res-
de this priuylege among the actes and dedes of Syl-
uester: I suppose this is a gesone boke/ and harde to
be founde/ and there is but very few that haue it/ and
it is kept secretly / euen lykewise as the Register or
Kalender boke of the Romaynes were kepte in the
olde tyme of the bisshoppes/ and as the boke of Sir-
billee were kepte of the .x. men / and it is wrytten in
the language of the Grekes/ of the Jewes / or of the
Caldayes. Gelasius recordeth / that it is redde of
many Catholyke men. Iacobus Moraginen-
sis maketh mention of it. We also haue sene a thousand co-
pies of it/ and that wrytten in the olde tyme/ and they
are red almoste in euery Cathedraall churche / vpon
saynt

The hystorie
of Syluester
is but a fap-
ned and a ly-
yng hystorie.

Iacobus bo-
raginen-
sis/ the
wrytter of sai-
ntes lyues.

A bytter
Irome.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Taynt Siluesters day / and yet no mā sayth / that euer
 he redde therein this that thou forgett and ymaginest.
 No man that euer he hath seen / no mā that euer he
 dreamed of any suche thynges. It is parauēture for
 me yet certayn hystorie / whiche other hystorie shall
 that be? I know none other hystorie / neither I do us
 go that thou doste meane of any other hystorie / than
 this / for thou spekest of that hystorie which Gelasius
 sayth / redde ofte in many chuches / but in this hysto-
 rie we do nat fynde the p̄suplege / if thā it be nat red-
 de in the lyfe of Siluester: why dost thou say that it
 is redde there? why durst thou be so bolde to bourde
 in so great a matter? and to mocke and deceyue the
 couetouse desyre of lyght and folyfhe personnes?
 But I am a sole / whiche do rather rebuke his bold-
 nesse: than the peuplshnelle of theym / whiche ga-
 ue credence to him / yf any man amonge the Grekes /
 amonge the Hebrewes: yf amonge the Barbarians /
 shulde say this thinge is foūde written: wolde you
 nat bydde him name the authoꝝ / and the booke to be
 brought forth / and the place to be expownd & decla-
 red of some saythfull expoytour: et euer you wolde
 gyue credence to it. Nowe mention is made of your
 owne language / of a booke most cōmunely knowen /
 and yet you do nat make inquisytion oꝝ any serche of
 so vnbeleuable a dede / oꝝ els whan you do nat fynde
 it writte: yet you ar so light of credēce geuyng / yf you
 do accōpt it for writte & for true / & thikyng this tittle
 to be suffyicient / you make great trouble & busynesse
 in the worlde / and as though there were no doute in
 it at all: you do put them in feare with warre & other
 thzetenynges / that do nat gyue credence to you.

O good Iesu: how gret is the strength / howe gret
 is the diuinite oꝝ godly power of the trouth: whiche
 by it selfe / without any great enforcement oꝝ labour /
 defendeth it selfe from all gyles & deceytes / that nat
 without a cause / whan a great contention was ry-
 sen bp afore kyng Darius / what thyng shulde be of
 most myght and strength / and dyuerse men named
 dyuerse thynges: at the last the dyctorie & chefe price

Rede in .i.iii.
 chapt. of the
 thirde booke
 of Esdras in
 the Bible.

G

was

The declamation of Lau. Clalla

1. **Maca-**
beorum. 8

Exodi 2+

Iobal his po-
sitive deuise/
for the perpetu-
al preservation
of the craft
fyrst by him
invented / that
is to witte
Musike.

The lawes
of the .xii. ta-
bles were gra-
uen in brasse.

was geuyn to veryte and trouthe / and for as moche as
now at this tyme I haue to do with prestes / and nat
with seculares or lay men : I must reherse rather ec-
clesiasticall examples / than secular examples. **Ju-**
das Maccabaeus / whan by sendynge the ambassa-
dours to Rome / he had obtayned a leage and amitie
or frendshipp of the senatours : He prouided the
wordes of the leage to be grauen in brasse / and to
be borne to Hierusalem. I passe ouer here the stony
tables of the .x. commaundementes : whiche god gaue
to Moyses. And these so royall & meruailouse stran-
ge donation of Constantine / can be proued by none
other maner euidence and tokens / neither in golde/
neither in syluer / neither in brasse / neither in marble/
neither last of all in bokes : but onely (if we beleue
this felowe) in a pece of paper or parchment. **Iobal**
the fyrst inuentour of musyke (as we do rede in **Jose-**
phus) bycause in his tyme / it was a comune opinion
lefte to theym of their forefathers / that the worlde /
whiche was ones destroyed with water / shulde agay-
ne be destroyed with fyre. He wrot his doctrine in .ii.
pyllets / y^e one of bricke / agaynst the iniurie & hurt of
fyre : and the other of stone / agaynst the hurte of
waters (which piller of stone remained euen to **Jose-**
phus tyme / as he himselfe writeth) to the intent / that
his benefyte towarde all men / shulde alwayes re-
mayne and be seen. And amonge the Romayns being
yet rude and grosse / whan there was yet but smalle
learnynge / and letters were rare and geason : yet that
notwithstandynge the lawes of the .xii. tables were
grauen in brasse / whiche were founde afterwarde
safe and vperished : Whan the cyte was taken and
set on a fyre by Frenchemen. Suche is the vertue
and myght of circumspecte prouidence : that it is a-
ble to ouercome y^e two grettest thinges in al y^e worlde
that is to witte diuinitie or longe contynuaunce of
tyme / and the vyolence of fortune. And dyd **Constan-**
tyne marke or seale this donation of the worlde / one-
ly with paper and ynke : namely seying that the for-
get of this fable / who euer he was / dothe make **Con-**
stan

The declamation of Lau. Calla

stantyne in the paygne of that priuilege/ sayeng these
 wordes: that he dyd suppose/ that these shulde nat
 lacke men after his tyme/ whiche through wicked co-
 uetousnesse wolde breake and disanull this donation
 or gyfte. Feare you this thyng! O Constantyne/
 and do you nat beware and proude: lest they whi-
 che wolde take away Rome from Syluester/ myght
 also priuely conuay away this dede or writte in pa-
 per: What? Syluester himselfe? Doth he no thyng
 at all for himselfe? Dothe he so remyt all thynges to
 Constantyne? Is he so carelesse/ so slowe/ and so pea-
 kish? dothe he in so great a busynes no thyng pro-
 uide for himselfe? nothyng for his churche? nothyng
 for them that shulde come after his tyme? Beholde
 here/ O Constantyne/ to what maner man you do
 comyt the administratyon and governaunce of the
 emper of Rome: whiche slepeth in so great a mater
 and in the thyng/ wherof shulde come either so great
 lucre: or elles so great leperdy and daunger. For the
 paper wherin the priuilege is contayned/ ones taken
 away: doubtles the donation or gyfte can nat be pro-
 ued to haue ben made in procelle of tyme. The mad
 felowe calleth it the paygne of the priuilege. Callest
 thou the donation of the worlde/ a priuilege? (for it
 please me to rebuke him/ as if he were present) and
 wylt thou/ that this priuilege was written in a pa-
 per: and that Constantyne vled suche maner oration
 and speche? if the tytle be folish and agaynst reason:
 what maner thynges shal we iuge the resydue to be? I
 do after folowe. ¶ Constantinus imperator quarto
 die sue baptismatis priuilegium Ro. ecclesie ponti-
 fici contulit/ vt in vrbe Roma sacerdotes ita hunc ca-
 pit habeant/ sicut iudices regem. Constantyne the
 emperour/ the fourth daye after he was Christened:
 gaue a priuilege to the byllhoppe of the churche of
 Rome/ that in the cyte of Rome the preestes shulde
 take hym for heed/ euen so as the iuges do take the
 kynge. These wordes be contayned in the very histo-
 ry of Syluester/ by reason wherof it can nat be dou-
 ted/ in what place this priuilege is signified to haue

An apokro-
 phe or tour-
 nymyng of the
 speche to Co-
 stantyne.

G. ii. ben

The declamation of Lau. Ualla

ben witten. But after the maner of them / whiche do
deuple and forge lyes or lerynges / he began with the
trouth: to the entent / that he might cause men to gyue
credence to the false & vntreue thinges that do folowe.
Euen lyke wise as Simon in Virgyle / sayd fyrste to

Enedros
secundo.

Simon.

all the trouth I shall say / & that I am a Greke bozne
I shall nat say nay. And in this he sayd trouth / but
after wardes he made many false leasinges: so in this
place dothe our subtile & crafty Simon / which whā
he had begonne with the trouth: by & by after dyd
adde these wordes. ¶ In eo privilegio ita inter cā-
tera legitur / vtile iudicauimus vna cum omnibus
sacrapis nostris / & vniuerso senatu / optimatib⁹ etiā
& cum cūcto populo imperio Ro. ecclie subiacenti / vt
sicut beatus Petrus in terris vicari⁹ dei videtur esse
constitutus: ita & pontifices ipsi⁹ principis Ap̄ox
vicem / principatus potestatem / amplius q̄ terrenæ
imperialis nostræ serenitatis mansuetudo habere vi-
detur / cōcessam a nobis nostrorūq; imperio obtineant.

In that priuilege among other thinges / thus it is
redde. We with all our dukes & erles / and with the
hole senate / and the optimates / and with all þ people
beyng subiectes vnder the empier & gouernaunce of
the churche of Rome / haue iuged & thought it profy-
table / that lyke wise as blessed Peter semeth to haue
ben constituted & ordayned the vicare of god here in
erthe: euen so the popes also / being the successours of
the prince of the Apostles / shulde optayne and haue
power & dominion graunted to them of vs & our em-
pier / moze largely / than the mylidenes of our erthely
ep̄eriall serenitye shulde seme to haue. ¶ Cursed and
false wreche / the same hystorie / wherof thou takest re-
corde & witness: telleth / that it is longe tyme ere afore
euer they whiche were of þ senatorie ordre / wold⁹ sa-
ke vpon them þ Christen religion / & that Constantyne
gaue money to poore men: that he might thereby pro-
uoke them to be baptysed. And sayest thou / that thirtē
with within .iiii. dayes / the senate / þ noble & great
elites / with þ rulers of prouinces / as though they
had

The declamation of Lau. Walla

had ben than alcedy Christened: dyd make decrees
with the emperour/ to put the church of Rome to ho
noure and worshipp: Wylt thou besydes this / that
Satrapæ / that is to say / dukes or erles / were pre
sent: & stones / & dull stockes. vñe the emperours
to speake after this maner: Are the decrees of the
Romaynes wonte to be expressed in suche formes of
wordes: Who euer herde Satrapas / that is to say/
dukes or erles / to be named in the counsaile or as
semblies of the Romaynes: I do nat remembre/ that
euer I red/ any man / I do nat say onely beyng a Ro
mayne/ but also nat so moche as in the prouince belon
gyng to the Romaynes: to be named a duke or an
erle. But this felow calleth them the dukes and erles
of the emperours/ and he setteth them before the sena
tours / nat withstandinge that all honores/ yē / euen
those also/ whiche are gyuen to the prince: are decre
ed onely by the senatours / and the people of Rome
toynd with them. And this is the cause/ why we
do se in the stones / or brasse tables / or in the copies
of olde antiquyte / either these two letters. **S C** .i.
Senatus consulto/ that is to say/ by the decree of the
senatours: or elles these foure letters. **S P Q R** .i.
Senatus / Populusq; / Romanus. that is to saye /
the senatours and the people of Rome. And as Ter
tulliane maketh mētion / whan Pontius Pilatus
had written to Tiberius Cesar / of the merueylouse
and wonderfull workes & dedes of Christ / and nat
to the senatours (for the heed officers & gouernours
had ben wonte to write of gret maters vnto þe senate)
the senatours toke this thyng greuouly/ & were gret
ly dyscontente therwith. And whan Tiberius gaue
this prerogatyue / that Iesus shulde be worshipped
for a god: they gaynsayde it / onely for the preu in
dignation & grudge which they had in their mindes:
for that the dignyte of the senatorie ordre was offen
ded & hurte. And that thou mayst knowe of how gret
strength the auctorite of the senate is: they optayned
that he shulde nat be worshipped for a god. Besides
this thou sayst the Optimates whom we vnderstāde
eithr to be the chiefe men in the comune weale/ & than

Howe greate
the auctorite
of the senate
was.

G. iii.

why

The Declamation of Lau. Valla

why doest thou name these: seig ther is no worde spoken of other offycers & ozels by optimates we vnderstande those/ which are nat Populares/that is/ which seche nat to get þ beneuolence & good wyll of þ people but are þ fauourers & defēders of the best men & of þ good pties or sydes/as Cicero sheweth & declareth in a certayne oratio / that suche are called optimates. And therfore we do say / that Cesar afore that the comune weale was oppressed: was Popularis / & that Cato was one of the optimates/ the dyfference of whiche two wordes Salust hath declared. And they whiche are called optimates in this signification / are no more sayde to be called to counsaile: than other popular persons or other good men. But what meruayle is it / if the optimates be there made of counsaile: where the hole people (if we gyue credence to this mā) dyd iuge with þ senate & Cesar: and that þ people be yng subiecte to the church of Rome. And which people is this: The people of Rome: whye is it than nat called þ people of Rome: rather than the people subiecte: What newe & straunge cōtumelie/ & meruaylouse rebuke is this vnto þ cōtreyes of Rome: of whiche þ best & most excellēt poete Vergyle reporteth in this wyse. Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento. Thou people of Rome / remembre thou to gouerne & rule people. That people whiche is the gouernour & ruler of other peoples: is called here Populus subiectus a people subiect/ which thig was neuer herde here tofore. For in this (as Gregorius witnesseth in many epistles) differeth þ bisshop of Rōme frō other bisshoppes: for þ he onely is the gouernour of a free people. But this admitted/ that it were euen so as thou sayst Are nat other peoples also subiectes: what thou meanest of other peoples also: how coulde it be possible/ þ all the people being subiectes to the church of Rome/ were within the dayes past at the making of that decreet how be it all þ vile sorte & the rascall of þ people I am sure / dyd nat iuge or decreet. Moreover/ why shulde Constantine call the people subiecte: afore that he had made them subiecte to the pope of Rome

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Agayne / why are they? whiche are called subiectes: sayd to haue bozne a rule / in þe makinge of the decree: Besydes this / they are sayd to haue decreed: and this same thig: that their selues shulde be subiectes: & that he to whom they were all redy subiectes: shulde haue them subiectes vnto hi selfe. What other thigge dost thou folp the wretche / with those folp the & mad imaginatiōs: but onely shewe & declare / that thou haste wll & desyre to deceyue & begyle: & that thou lackest power to do it. ¶ Eligētes nobis ipsū p̄cipē apostolorū / vel eius vicarios / firmos apud deū esse patronos / et sicut nostra est terrena imperialis potestas: ita eius sacrosancta Ro. ecclesia decreuim⁹ veneratē honorare / & ap̄lius q̄ nēm imperiū terrenūq; thronū / sedē sacratissimā beati Petri gloriose exaltare / tribuētēs ei potestātē / et gloriā / et dignitatē / et vigore / & honorificentiā imperialem. ¶ Tholig the p̄rice of apostles hi selfe or his vicars: to be stedfast: & sure patros & defēders to vs / afoze god. And euen as our: erthly ep̄ciall power is: so haue we decreed: reuerently to honour his hole & worshipfull church of Rome: & gloriously to exalte þe most worshipfull seat of blessed Pet a great deale more: thā our ep̄ter & erthly throne: gyving to it power: & glory / & dignite / & strength: & honorificēce ep̄ciall. Reuyue & wake alpye agayne a lytell whyle / ¶ Lactāce firmiane: & reysst this allecreping out so maynely. He hath so great belyte & pleasure in þe claterig noyse of proude & puffed wordes: that he repeteth & iculbeth ofte agayn þe same thiges: whiche he had sayd nat lōge ago. Wd the scrabes of the petours (bycause I wyll nat say the horsekeepers) speke after this maner & facp / wth þy tyme. ¶ Constantin⁹ elegit sibi illos / nat patronos: but esse patronos. He puti þe infynitpue mode esse: to make þe nombre of the wordes ioyne more: trynly to gether. ¶ An honest and a worshipfull cause. forsoche / to speake barbaously: that thynge or atyon or speche maye come more plesantely and goodly: if it be so that any plesantnes or goodlynes may be in so rough a thyle. ¶ Chosing þe p̄ince of the apostles / or his vicars: you do nat chose ¶ Costāntine / Peter: & his vicars: but either

Lactance fir
miane wrote
so eloquent
ly: that saynt
Iherome cal
leth him flu
uū Culliane
eloquentie /
the flowynge
rhyer of elo
quēce.

¶ 113

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

either him excludig them/ or them excludig him. And he calleth þ popes of Rome Peters bicars: as though Peter were yet alpye: or as though the popes were of lesse dignite than Peter was. Is nat this also a bar barouse maner of speakig. Cōcellā a nobis nostroꝝ imperio. Graūted to the by vs & our ēpier: as who shulde saye/ that the ēpier had minde or purpose/ and also power to graūte. And he was nat cōtented noꝝ thought it ynough to say. Obtineāt / that they shulde haue & optayne: except he dyd say also / cōcellā / graūted / natwithstāding that þ one of those wordes alone were sufficiēt. And that same / where he calleth them stedfast & sure patrons: is very elegātly spoken. For god wot/ he wyll/ that they be stedfast & sure: lest they myght be corrupted with money / or els myght shryke & fall for fere. And this sayeng also. Nostra terrena imperialis potestas/ or erthly ēperypall power/ where he ioyneth two adiectyues without a cōiunction copulatyue/ and that also Venerāter honozare / worshipfully to honour / & that Nostra imperialis serenitatis mānuetudo. This gere sauoureth & smelleth of the eloquēce of Lactāce: where he speketh of the power & gouernaūce of the ēpire: to name sereneite & myldnes or gētlnes: & nat highnes or maiestie. which sayēg is also puffed & blowen by with swolne pride: euen lykewile as that is: where he sayth. Glorioso exaltare per gloriā/ et potestātē/ et dignitatē/ et vigore/ et honorificentia imperialē. Gloriously to exalte by gloꝝy & power/ & dignite/ & strēgth/ & honorificēce ēperypall. which maner of speakig semeth to be takē out of þ Apocalypse or reuelation of saīe Iohn/ where it is sayde. Worthy is the lābe/ which hath ben slayn: to take or receyue power/ dignite/ wisdomē / fortitude or strēgth/ honour/ & benedictiō. He semeth also oftētimes (as it shall euidently appere hereafter) Cōstātne to take by þō him þ tydes & prayes belōgig to god/ & couētyng to folowe þ maner of speakig bled in þ holy scripture: which he had neuer red. Atq; Deternētes sēcim? be pꝛicipatū teneāt tālū quatuor sedes / Alexādrinā Antiochenā/ Hierosolimitanā/ Constantinopolitanā: q̄ etiā sup oēs munificēs oꝝbe terraz. dei ecclesias / etiam

Apocalyp
sis the .v.
cha,

The declamation of Lau. Galla

etiam pontifex qui per tempora ipsius sacrosacte Ro-
ecclesie extiterit celsior & princeps cunctis sacerdoti-
bus/ & totius mundi existatis/ & eius iudicio/quæ ad
cultum dei & fidem Christianorum/ vel stabilitate pro-
curandam fuerint : disponantur. We also by oure
decree do establishe and stablishly ordayne / that he
haue the chefe gouernaunce / as well vpon the toure
sees/ of Alexandrie/ Antioche/ Hierusalem/ and Con-
stantinople : as also vpon all the churches of goo/ in
the hole worlde . Also that the bishoppe of the sayde
worshipfull churche of Rome / whiche shall be from
tyme to tyme : be highest and chefe heed of all prestes
and of the hole worlde / and that all thinges whiche
shall appertayne to the honoring of god / and to the
procuringe of the Christen faith / and the stabylte
therof : be disposed and ordered by his iugement .

Here I do passe ouer his barbarouse and corrupte
maner of speaking/ that þe sayd/ Princeps sacerdoti-
bus for princeps sacerdotum/ and that he did put the
se two wordes/ Extiterit & existat/ bothe in one place
and that whan he had sayd/ & in vniuerso orbe terrarum
he addeth agayn/ et totius mundi . As if it were a cer-
tayne sondrie thinge / or as if he wolde heuen to be
contayned also/ which is a parte of the worlde : wha
a greate parte of the worlde was nat vnder the do-
minion of Rome/ and that he sayth . ad fidem Chris-
tianorum / vel stabilitatem procurandam . makinge a
distinction and seperation of the faith of Christen
men / and the stabylte therof / as though these two
might nat be bothe to gether at one tyme/ and that he
miegled these two wordes. Decernere & sancire. And
that he maketh Constantine now to decree ; as if he
hadde nat iuged before with other / and as though he
purposed to decree & ordayne a penaltie/ & that he ma-
keth hi to establishe together with þe people. Welydes
at these thiges/ I say/ what Christe ma can suffre this
& nat sharply chastise þe pope which suffreth this/ yea
also hereth it gladdly / and reherceth it/ that where as
the Romayne see hath taken primacie & preeminence
of Christe (as the .viii. synode hath declared / Gra-
tian

The declamation of Lau. Malla

tiane bering witness/ and many of the Grekes) nowe it is sayde to haue receyued it of Constantine/ being yet scaslly a Christen man/ as it were of Christ himselfe: Wolde that most discrete and lowly prince haue herde this: wolde the most godly and vertuose pope haue herde this: god shelde them bothe from so great synne and abhominacion. Agayne/ standeth this with reason / or maye it be naturally / that any man myght speake of Constantinople / as of one of the patriarchall/ seattes: whyche yet was neither Patriarchall / neither any se at all / neither a Christen cyte/ neither so named/ nether yet buylded/ nether so moche as purposed or appoynted to be buylded: For the priuilege was graunted within thre dayes after that Constantine was made a Christen man / at whiche tyme it was yet Bizantium: and nat Constantinople. Let me be accópted and taken for a lyer: if this folow the felowe dothe nat confesse the same himselfe. For nere vnto the ende of priuilege: he writeth these wordes. *¶ Unde congruum prosperimus / nostru imperium et regiam potestatem orietalibus transferri regionibus/ et in Bizantium puintia optimo loco nomini nostro ciuitatem edificari et illic nostrum constitut imperiu. Wherfore we haue iuged it mete and accordyng/ that our emper and royall power be translated to the regions of the Este/ and that in the best place of the prouince of Bizantie: a cyte be buylded to our name/ and that there our emper be constituted and set. If he dyd nowe but purpose to translate his emper to another place: he had nat yet translated it. If he were but mynded to constitute and set his emper there: he had nat yet constituted or sette it there. So lykewise/ if he was than but in purpose to build a cyte/ he had nat buylded it as yet. He oughte nat therfore to haue made mention of it as of one beyng patriarchal/ as of one of the foute sees/ as of a christe cyte/ as of one so named / as of one allredy buylded: of the building wherof he was nat yet so moch as in thought & purpose/ after þ mynde of þ historie/ which Dalea bringeth forth to witness & recorde. But this beest*

The Declamation of Law: Walla

best (whether he be Dalea/ or who so euer he be/ who
 the other doth folow) doth nat perceyue and se/ that
 he defaggetteth from him/ for there it is sayde/ that Co
 stantine nat of his own voluntarie mynde/ but by the
 admonition and warnyng of god/ as he slepte/ nat
 at home/ but at Bizacie/ and nat within fewe dayes
 but after certayn yeres was purposed & determyned
 to buylde the cyte/ & that he gaue to it the name/ whi
 che he was warnned and taught to gyue in his slepe/
 who than doth nat see/ that he whiche made the priuile
 lege/ was longe after the tyme of Constantyne/ and
 that whyles he wolde garnyshe and set forth his lye/
 he forgate that he had sayd before/ that these thynges
 were done at Rome/ the thyrde day after that Constā
 tine was baptised/ so that the comune olde prouerbe
 may very accordyngly be applyed to him. *Mēdātem
 mēmōrem esse oportet.* Al yet had nede to be good of
 remembraunce: Moreover Bizantium the prouice/
 (as he calleth it) was nothyng large ynough for the
 buyldyng of so great a Cyte/ for Constantynople did
 contayne all olde Byzantiū/ within the walles of it
 selfe/ and yet this felowe sayth (that a cytie shulde be
 buylded in the best place of Bizantiū. Besydes this/
 he wyll that Thracia/ wherein Bizantiū stode: is in
 the West parte/ & yet in very dede it inclyneth towar
 de the northe/ I suppose or wene that Constantyne
 knewe nat the place whiche he had cholen out among
 othe/ to the buyldyng of his cyte: in what quarter
 or parte of the worlde it was sytuatē/ neither whether
 it were a cyte or a prouynce/ neither of what measure
 and largenesse it was. ¶ *Ecclesiū beatorū aploz
 Petri & Pauli/ pro continuatione luminarioz: pol
 lationū predia contulimus/ & rebus diuersis eas dis
 tautimus & per nostram imperalem iussione[m] sacram
 tam in oriente/ q̄ in occidente/ q̄ etiā a septentrione
 et meridionali plaga/ uidelicet et in Iudia/ Grecia/
 Asia/ Thracia/ Africa/ & Italia/ vel diuersis insu
 lis/ nostra largitate/ Et concessim⁹/ ea proflus rati
 one/ vt per manus beatissimi pacis nostri Siluestri
 sumi pontificis/ successorūq; eius oia disponātur.*
we

The declaration of Lau. Galla

We haue gyuen certayn landes and possellions to the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paule / for the continuation and upholdyng of lyghtes / and we haue endowed & enriched the same churches with dyuerse thynges / and by our sacred imperiall commaundement of our lybertye and bountifoulnes / we haue graunted to them outlyberty and power / as well in the East / as in the weste: and in the north / and in the south clymates or ptes of the worlde / that is to wytte / bothe in Indee / Grece / Albanie / Tracia / Affrike / and Italye / or in dyuerse Ilandes / and that vnderly in suche wyse and maner: that all thynges be disposed by the handes of most blessed Siluester our fader and pope / and by the handes of his successors /

¶ I falle wretche / were there at that tyme churches or temples in Rome / dedicated to Peter & Paule / who had buyde them: who durst haue bene bolde to buyde them: sayng that than there was no place for chrysten men (as the hystorie sayth) but onely secrete corners / and luryng plates: or if there had ben any temples in Rome dedicated to those apostles / yet they were none suche / in whiche it were mete & accordyng that so gret serges or tapers shulde be lyghted / as bepyng but lytle or small chapels / nat temples or churches / and onely oratories within their owne houses: and nat open great churches: he ought therfore / nat to haue taken care / & made prouision for the lyghtes of the temples: afore that he hadde taken care for the temples selues. What sayest thou / which makest Constantyne called Peter and Paule / beatos / that is to say blessed / and Siluester whan he was yet lyuyng / beatissimū / most blessed / and called his owne commaundemēt (whiche had bene nat longe befoze an infydele or paynyme) sacred and holy: were so great thynges to be gyuen for the upholdyng of lyghtes / that all the hole worlde shulde be made wery therby: Or whiche landes are those / namely of possellions: we are wonte to say Possellions of landes / but nat landes of possellions / thou gyuest landes and lordes hyppes / and dost nat declare nor expresse whiche landes

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

des they be/ thou hast enriched the with diuerse thynges: and dost nat shewe neither whan / neither with what thynges thou wylt that the plagis or regions of the worlde be disposed by Siluester: but thou dost nat shewe / in what maner or kynde of disposing or ordering / thou haste gyuen and graunted these thynges before. Why doste thou nowe signifie and gyue knowledge / that thou haste begonne this daye to honour the churche of Rome / and to graunt the priuilege to it: dost thou this day graunt and gyue: dost thou this day make it riche or endowe it: why dost thou than say / we haue graunted / and we haue made riche or endowed: wottest thou what thou spekest / or what thou meapest thou beeste. I speke to the/ the forget of this lye: and nat to the very good prince Constantyne. But why do I require or looke for any wisdom / or any lernyng in the: whiche arte nat endowed with any wylt or any literature at all as it appereth right wel whan thou sayst *Luminariū* for *Luminariū* and *orientalib⁹* transferri regionib⁹: where thou oughtest to haue said/ *ad orientales transferri regiones*: Moreover which be those. iiii. plagis or quarters of the worlde: which reckenest thou to be the east plage: *Thracia*: dothe it nat (as I sayd before) inclyne to the north: *Iurie*: but it lyeth moze toward the south/ as beyng nere vnto *Egipte* / whiche also callest thou the west plage: *Italy*: But these thynges were done in *Italy*: whiche no man luyng or abyding there: doth call the west plage or region/ for as moch as we do say/ the huspaynes to be in the west. And *Italy* on the one syde/ leaneth to the southe/ & on the other syde/ leaneth to the north: rather than to the west. Which callest thou the septentrionall or north plage: *Thracia*: But thou thyselfe shalte haue it to be on the east syde/ or els *Asya*: But this it selfe alone occupieth and posselseth the hole east. And the north is commune to it and *Europa*: which callest thou the meridionall or south plage. No dout of it / thou meapest *Affricke*. But why diddest thou nat expresse and shewe forthe some prouince by name: excepte perad-

D

uenture

The declamation of Lau. Walla

uenture the moores of Ethiopia were vnder the emper of Rome. And yet neuer y lesse Asia and Aphrike haue no place here / where the worlde is deuyded in to foure partes / and the regyons of eche parte are reherfed by name : but whan it is deuyded in to thre partes / Aſye / Affrike / and Europe. Excepte thou doſt ſe name Aſya for the Aſiatike prouince / and Aphrike for the prouince / whiche is nere vnto the people of Getulya / whiche I can nat ſee / why they ſhulde be principally and cheſely named. Wolde Conſtantine haue ſpoken in ſuche wiſe / whan he had ſpoken of the foure principall partes of the worlde : that he wolde haue named theſe regions / & nat haue named other : and that he wolde haue begonne with Iurie / whiche is rekened and accompted a part of Syria / and whiche at that tyme was no longer Iurie / for as moche as Ieruſalem was deſtroyed / and the Jewes chaced from thence and welnere deſtroyed / in ſo moche that I do ſuppoſe / that ſcaceſly any Jewe was than remayninge in his owne countrey : but all inhabytid other nations : Where I beſeech you / was Iurie than / whiche was no longer called Iurie / euen lyke wyſe as we do ſe nowe at this day the name of that lande deſtroyed : And euen as whan the Chananyes were driuen out / that region was no longer called Chanania but the name beyng chaunged / was called Iudia of the newe inhabytauntes the Jewes : ſo whan the Jewes were baniſhed and driuen out / and ſtraungers did inhabyte it : it was no longer called Iurie. Thou nameſt Jewrie and Thracia / and Ielandes : but the Hiſpaynes / and Fraunces / & Germaine / thou thynkeſt nat worthy to be named / and whan thou ſpeakeſt of other languages / as Hebrue / Greke / and Barbarouſe : thou ſpeakeſt nat of any of the prouinces byſynge the Latyne tonge or language. I perceyue now / thou dydeſt therefore ouerhippe or leue them out here : that thou myghteſt contayne or comprehend them afterwardeſ in the donatyon. And what were nat the weſt prouynces ſo moche worthe / that they myght mayntayne and vpholde the coſtes and charges of

The declamation of Lau. Walla

ges of the lyghtes: excepte that the resydue of the
 worlde dyd helpe also: I passe ouer here / that thou
 sayest these thynges to be graunted per / largitatem
 that is to say of lyberalite and bountiuousnes. than
 was it nat done for þe healyng of the leprosie / so as they
 do say. For els it were a strange presumpcion in hi: who so
 euer wolde put or reche a remuneratiō or recōpensati
 on in stede of lyberal or free gyftes. ¶ Beato Siluest
 stro / eiusq; vicario / de presenti tradimus palatium impe
 rii nostri Lateranense / deinde diadema / videlicet cor
 ronam capitis nostri / simulq; phrygium / nec non suphu
 merale / videlicet lorū / quod imperiale circū dare solet
 colū / verū etiam clamidē purpuream / atq; tunicā coc
 cineā / et oīa imperialia indumēta / seu etiā dignitatē
 imperialiū p̄sidentū equitū / conferentes ei etiam
 imperialia sceptrā / simulq; cūcta signa atq; bona / et
 diuersa ornamēta imperialia / et oīem processione imp
 perialis culminis / et gloriā potestatis nostræ / viris
 etiā diuersi ordinis reuerēdissimis / clericis sanctæ Ro
 manæ ecclesiæ seruicib⁹ / illud colmē singulaz potē
 tiæ / et p̄cellenciæ / habere sactum / cui⁹ amplissim⁹
 noster senatus videtur gloria adornari / .i. patritios /
 consules / efficit. Ac non in ceteris dignitatib⁹ impe
 rialib⁹ eos p̄mulgauim⁹ decorati / & quēadmodū impe
 rialis erat decorata militia: ita clerū sanctæ Ro. eccle
 siæ adornari decreuim⁹. Et quēadmodū imperialis
 potētia diuersis officiis cubiculariorū nepes et hostia
 riorū atq; oīum cōcubitorū adornatur: ita et sanctā Ro
 ecclesiā decorari volum⁹. Et vt aplissime pōtificale
 decus p̄fulgeat: decreuim⁹ / vt et clerici sancti eiusdē
 sanctæ Ro ecclesiæ / mappulis et lichæaminib⁹ .i. cādū
 dissimo colore decoratos equos equitēt / et sicut noster
 senatus calciamētis vtitur cū vdonib⁹ .i. cādūdo lin
 cheamine illustrētur / et ita celestia sicut terrestria ad
 laudē dei decorētur. ¶ To blessed Siluestre & to his
 vicare / we deliuer by at this p̄sent tyme þe palayce of
 our episc / called the palayce of Laterane / moreouer
 our diademe / that is to wyt þe crowne belōgig to our
 heed. Also phrygium / the copse / and the suphumērale /
 that is to wyt þe collar whiche is wonte to cōpasse our

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Banna

Concubis
toribus.

eperiall necke / & besydes this / a purple mātpll oz ros
 be / & a purple tote / & all the eperiall garmētes oz apa
 paryll / as also the dignyte of the eperyal p̄sidēte kny
 ghtes / gyuig to him also the eperiall scepters / & also al
 the segnes & armes oz badges / & dyuerse oznamētes
 eperyall / & all the pōpoule processyō oz goyng forth of
 the eperyall maiestic / & the glōrie of our power. And
 also of p̄ reuerēde men of dyuerse & sōdrie ordres & de
 grees / the clerkes seruig the holy churche of Rome :
 we do ordayne & establishe / that they haue that most
 high power & p̄emynēce / with the glōry wherof our
 most honorable senate is seen to be adourned / that is
 to say / that they be made Patrici / & Cōsules. Also
 we haue promulged & publyshed / that they be adour
 ned with other eperiall dignytes. And as the eperyall
 cheualry is decked & apparayled : so we haue decreed
 that p̄ clergie of the holy churche of Rome be adour
 ned. And as the eperiall power is a nourned with dy
 uerse offyces / that is to wytte of chaūberlayns / por
 ters / & watchemen : euen so we wyl p̄ the holy chur
 che of Rome be adourned. And p̄ the honour & wor
 thyppes of the pope may be most bright / & most glōry
 ously shyne forth & appere : we haue decreed / that also
 the holy clerkes of p̄ same holy church of Rome / shal
 ryde vpon hōstes decked with napkyus & shetes / p̄ is
 to wit of most pure whyte colour. And as our senate
 wereth shōes with ydonibus .i. lytell mones / that is
 to say / be adourned with whyte linnen cloth / & so that
 heuenly thynges may be lyke wise decked & adourned :
 as be the erthely thynges / to the laude & prayse of god.
 O blessed Iesu / wilt thou nat make ans were frō a
 whoyle wide to this felowe : which collett forth sēten
 ces with batbarouse and folysh wordes / Wylt thou
 nat thūde / wylt thou nat cast forth lyghteniges / to
 reuenge and punishe so great blasphemye / Woste
 thou suffre so great shame & abhominacion in thy fa
 milye oz housholde / Canst thou here this / Canst
 thou see this / And canst thou wike at it / & suffre it vn
 punished so long / But thou art paciente and full of
 mercy / But yet I do feare / lest this thy pacyence be
rather

The declamation of Lau. Walla

rather wthathe and condemnation / as it was to war-
des theym / of whome thou saydest. And I haue Psalmo.
lette theym alone / to do accordynge to the delictes of lxxx.
their hert / and they shall walke in their owne inuen-
tions / and in another place. I haue gyuen them in Roma. f.
to a reprobate sense or mynde / y they wulde do those
thynges / whiche are nat conuenient : bycause it dyd
nat lyke them to acknowledge me. I be sech the / O
lorde bydde me cry out agaynst them / and peraduen-
ture they shal be conuerted. O you popes of Rome
whiche are the examples of all synnes & myscheuouse
byces / to other bisshoppes. O you most leude scry-
bes and phariseis / whych do syt on y chaire of Moy-
ses / and do the warkes of Dathan and Abyron : save
you so / shall the gorgyouse garmentes / and appa-
ryll of estate / shall the pompe of cheualrye : and to
make an ende / shall all the maner lyuing of the empe-
rou / be seme the vicare of Christe : what felowship
or agreement / or what comparison or lykenes / is there
betwene a preeft / and Cesar : Dyd Scluester do on
suche garmentes vpon himselfe : went he in such ap-
paryll / and with suche pompe & roialte : dyd he lyue
at home / and did he raigne with suche celcbryte of ser-
uauntes : The vngაციouse men do nat parceyue and
vnderstande / that Scluester ought rather to take
vnto him the garmentes & apparayll of Aaron / whi-
che was the hygheest or chete preeft of god : thā of an
hethen prince. But we shall at another tyme moze so-
re inuaye / and speke agaynst these thynges / and at
this tyme / lette vs speake somewhat / with this false
forger of lyes : of his barbarouse language / thow
whose folyshe speche : his most shamelesse leasynge
waxeth open & euidente / by the owne accorde / we des-
lyuet bp (sayth he) the palayce of our emper / called
Laterane / As though he hadde done euyll / to put the
gyftes of the palayce / here in this place among the or-
namentes : he reherled the same agayne afterwarde
where mention is made of gyftes / Moreover the dia-
deme / and as though they dyd nat see / but hadde ben
blinde / whiche were presente : he declareth it / say-
ng /

All other byt
shoppes take
exaple of mis-
cheuouse vis-
ces at the pos-
se of Rome /
Hathu.

xxiii.
Rume.
xvi.

Exodi.
xxviii. &
xxx.

H.iii.

pngl

The declamation of Lau. Walla

yng/ that is to wytte þ crowne belongeth to our heed
 but here he dyd nat put to/ of golde/ but afterwarde
 reherfing the same thynges agayn: he sayth/ of most
 pure golde & of pꝛeciousle stones. The vnlearned da
 starde was ignorant/ that a diademe is of clothe/
 or els paraducenture of sylke / wherfor that wyse say
 yng of a certayn kynge / is wonte to be moche spokē
 of / and praysed/ whiche is sayd / whan the dyademe
 was deliuered vnto him : to haue holde it in his ha
 des / and to haue consydered and well aduysed it a
 longe season/ befoze he wolde put it on his heed/ and
 to haue sayde / O noble: rather than prosperouse &
 lucky clothe / whiche if a man knew partlyghtly with
 how many cares / teopardyes / & muleries / thou art
 replenysshed: he wolde nat so moche as ones take the
 bp/ if thou layest on the grounde. This felowe / we
 neth it to be of nought els : than of golde/ to the whi
 che / now a dayes the kynges do put to / a crowne of
 golde with pꝛeciousle stones. But Constantine was
 nat a kynge / neither durste he haue ben bolde to call
 him selfe a kynge / neither to apparail him selfe after
 the maner of kynges / he was emperour or chiefe cap
 tayne of Rome / nat kynge / where a kynge is : there
 is nat a comune weale. But in þ comune weale/there
 haue ben many emperours or captaynes / & that euen
 at one tyme/ for Cicero writeth oft tymes in this wi
 se / *M. Cicero imperator/ illi vel illi iperatori salutē*
 that is to say in englishe / *Marcus Cicero captayne*
sendeth gretyng to this or þ captayne / all be it after
wardes the pꝛince or gouernour of the Romayns/ as
beyng souerain of al : had this name cperator appꝛo
pꝛiated to him/ so þ he as by a name pꝛeculiare/ & pꝛo
pꝛely belōgynge to hi/ was called cperour. Simulqꝫ
phꝛigiu/ necnon sup humerale videlicet loꝝ/ quod im
periale solet circū dare collū/ How great barbarous
nes is there i these wordes/ who euer harde this worde
phꝛigiu bled in þ latyn tonge/ wylte thou/ whā thou
spekest barbarouly: þ I holde thynke it to be þ spe
che of Cōstātine or of Lactāti? Ðlaut? in þ cōmedye
called Ðenechmi/ put this worde phꝛigio for a ma
 per

A diademe is
 of cloth or els
 of sylke.

Constantine
 was nat a
 kynge neither
 dyd he weare
 any crowne.

Impera
 toꝝ.

Phꝛigiu.

Phꝛigio.

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

per of garnettes / & Plint⁹ calleth garnēt bzoiberde
 & wroughte w^t p^rebell. Phugiones / becaufe p^r peo
 ple of Phugia were p^r first fynders out & deuilers of
 such garnettes. But what this worde phugiū doth si
 gnify / which is a darke worde: thou dost nat declare
 but this worde suphumerale / which is a moze playn
 worde: thou doest expoude & declare / sayeng. videli
 set lozū &c. & yet thou wottest nat what Loz^r betoke
 neth for thou doest nat meane / p^r a girdle / or lease ma
 de of leddre (which is called loz^r) was put about Ce
 sars necke for an oznamēt / & herof it is / p^r we do call p^r
 raynes & ledders of p^r bridles & horse harnais / & leddre
 thōges or scourges Loza in p^r lati tōge / & if in any pla
 ce we do finde these wordes Loza aurea: it can nat be
 vnderstāded but only of p^r raynes or leddres of p^r br
 dels or collers / which ar wōt to be put about p^r gilded
 necke of an horse / or of some other beest / which thing /
 in myne opinton / begyled p^r / & whiles thou wylte put
 Loz^r about p^r necke of Cesar & Siluester: thou ma
 kest of a man / of thēperour / of p^r pope: an horse / or an
 All^r / or a dogge / Uer^r & chlamidē purpureā atq^r tu
 nicā coccineā. Becanse Math. saith chlamidē cocci
 neā / & Johū saith / veste purpureā / spekyng both of p^r
 purple mātil or vesture / which was don vpo Christ
 in mockrage & scozne: this felow thought p^r he wolde
 here ioyne thē both togyther i one place. But if pur
 purea & Coccinea do betokē both of thē one coloure /
 as they do i p^r sayiges of p^r euāgelistes: why wast nat
 thou cōtēt so as p^r euāgelistes were cōtēt / to name the
 one of thē: except thou doest vnderstāde by purpurea
 a kynge (as vnlearned men do speke now a dayes) of
 white sylken cloth / But in very dede / purpurea is a
 fylthe / w^t whose blode woll is dyed / & therfoze of p^r
 dying p^r cloth hath his name & is called purple / who
 se colour may be takē for reed / though it be somewhat
 moze iclynig to blacke / & very nere to p^r colour of cole
 & cluddred blode / & as it were a violete colour / & ther
 foze i Homer & Uergile it is redde / purple⁹ sāguis
 & marmoz p^rrophiticū / that is to saye / purple blode /
 and purple or reede marble / whose coloure is lyke
 to the Amethyste stone / for p^r / which in the latyn tonge

Lozum,

Math 27
Johū 19.

what purpurea
betoketh.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

is called purpura: in greke is called πορφυρα/ And what maner of garmente Chlamys is: I durst swe-
re/ thou wottest nat at al/ But lest he sholde bewraye
him selfe to be a lyer/ if he sholde haue spoke at large
of euery partyulare gramment: he cōprehendeth them
all togyder in one worde / sayeng oia imperialia indue-
menta/ that is to say / all the emperiall garmentes /
what: eyn those also / wherin he was wōt to be clad
and apparailled in batayle/ wherwith he was cladde
in huntynge: in playes oꝝ open thewes: and in feastes
oꝝ bankettes: what can be sayd moze folyschly: than
that all the garmentes oꝝ apparaille of Cesar/ is con-
uenient oꝝ syttyng foꝝ the pope: But how properly &
pleasauntly is this added of him. *Seu etiam digni-
tatem imperialiū presidentiū equitum/* that is to say
oꝝ the dignite of the emperiall presydente knyghtes /
he sayth oꝝ he wolde departe these two thiges/ the one
from the other: as though there were great similitu-
de oꝝ lykenes betwen them / and he falleth downe frō
speakyng of the emperiall habyte oꝝ apparayll: to
the dignite of knyghtes / speakyng I wote nat what
he wolde sayne expresse certayne meruaylouse thyn-
ges: but he is astryde to be percepued & taken with
a lye / and therfoze with puffed and swolne chekes/ &
with a bowline throte: he gyueth a sounde without
witte/ and speketh without any reason oꝝ wysdome /
no man can tell what *Conferētes etiam ei imperialia
sceptra/* that is to say / Geuyng to him also the emperi-
all scepters / what a maner spekyng is this: what ele-
gancie: oꝝ what ordre is herein: whiche be those em-
periall sceptres: There is but one sceptre & nat ma-
ny (if it were so/ & the emperour did beare any sceptre
at all) Shall the pope also beare the sceptre in his hā-
ne: why shal we nat thā also gyue hi a swerde: an hel-
mete/ & a darte: *Simulq; cūcta signa et bāna/* what
meanest thou here by signa: signa betokeneth either
carued ymages (& so we rede oftē tymes these wordes
signa & tabulas/ foꝝ carued ymages & pictures/ foꝝ in
old tyme they did nat payt bpō & walles: but i tables)
oꝝ els signa betokeneth stāderd/ oꝝ bāners (of signū i
the

Signa.

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

the former spynge of the water: cometh Sygill / whiche
 Detokeneth a lytel carved image. Dyd Cōstāntine thā
 gyue to Sylluēt his carved images: or his ban-
 ners the two Eagles? What is more agaynst reason
 than this? But what this worde Bāna dothe spynge
 fye. I can nat fynde / nor imagine. God gyue the a
 mischefe most wude wether: whiche maketh the spea-
 kyng barbarouse / whiche were in the learned wolde
 of tyme. Et dīa cēla ornāmēta imperialia. Bpcause
 he had sayd Bāna: he thought he had gyuen know-
 ledge enough / and therfore he concluded & contayned
 al other vnder this vniuersall or general worde. And
 how oftentymes reherceth he agayne this worde em-
 perpall: as who shulde say / that there were certayne
 ornaments properly belongyng to the emperoure:
 more than were belongyng to a Consule / to a dic-
 tator / to Cesar. Et om̄pcessiōis imperialis culminis
 et glām̄ potētātis nra. He casteth forth proude & glo-
 ryouse wordes: beynge as it were Darius kyng of ki-
 ges / & cōsyn to y^e goddes / & neuer speaketh / but in the
 plurall nōbre. But what processyon or solēpne goyng
 forth is this of the peryal cucūber? Suppoest thou y^e
 Cesar dyd tryūphe as ofte as he went forth of his hou-
 se: as the pope / these dapes is wonte to do / haupnge
 white hoxes goyng befoze him / whiche hoxes beynge
 trapped & decked / the seruantes do toyne & couple to-
 gether to the charpotte: thā which thige (though I
 speke nat of other penythe & madde thiges) there can
 be none more vayne or plūtuouse / neither more vnse-
 mely or vnpytful for the pope of Rome / which is this
 glorie also / that thou speakest of: wolde he beynge a la-
 tyn man / haue called y^e pope & solēpnite of ordinaūce /
 glorie: after y^e maner & vsage of y^e Hebrue tōge / as y^e
 also militū for milites: which maner of speking we ha-
 ue borrowed of y^e Hebrues: whose booke Cōstāntine or
 his scribes had neuer red. But moreouer / how gret
 is pour lyberalite & bouūousnes / o Cesar / which do-
 nat thiike it suffyciēt to haue adourned y^e pope hiselfe:
 vnlesse you did also adourne y^e hole clergy. Thou cal-
 lest it y^e high topppe of power & preexcellēcie: to be ma-
 de

Banna

1574

The declamation of Lau. Talla

of Patricios or Consules. Who herde euer / that ser-
 uatours or other men were made Patricius? When
 may be made Consules: but nat Patricii men (I say)
 either of the senatour kyndred (whiche is called Do-
 mus patricia or senatoria / because p senatours were
 called Patres conscripti) or of the house or kyndred
 of the equester order / or of the comune rascall sorte.
 And it is a gretter thinge to be a senatour: than to be
 Patricius. For a senatour is one of the cholen coun-
 saylours of the comune weale: but Patricius is he
 Patrici? whiche descendeth by lynage of the senatour house or
 stocke. So that he which is a senatour or one of the
 fathers is nat forthwith Patrici? that is to say / bo-
 ne of the senatour stocke. But thou wylt peraduen-
 ture say / that there is mention made of p dignite / whi-
 che is called Dignitas patricia? in many booke. I
 do nat say nay / that such mention is made / but it is in
 them / which speaketh of p tymes after Cōsūtine. It
 foloweth therfore / p this priuilege was made after Cō-
 stāntines tyme. But what may p clerkes be made cō-
 sules: Clerkes of Italy hath forbyddē theselues mar-
 riage of wyues / & shall they be made consules? And
 shall they cause soldyers to muster: & shall they go in
 to p prouinces / wherof they be made rulers: with le-
 gys / & the hostes of p frēdes & felowes of p Romay-
 nes. Shal p ministers & seruantes be made Consules: or
 shall they weare p ornātes of mē of warre: & shal
 nat payers or couples of consules be made / as p olde
 blage & custome was: but shall hole hūdredes & thou-
 sandes of ministers / which shall serue p church of Ro-
 me haue p dignite speciall? The ministers / shall be
 emperours / & the clerkes / shall be soldyers. Shall
 the clerkes be made soldyers: or shal they weare p or-
 namētes of a soldyer: excepte thou doste gyue to all
 clerkes vniuersally p speciall ornātes. For I wot
 no whit / what thou doste meane. And who dothe nat
 see an perceyue that this lyeng fable hath ben ima-
 gined and deuised / by them whiche wolde themsel-
 ues to haue lyberte for to weare all maner garmen-
 tes / of what so euer fashyon them selues lyst / so
 that

The declamation of Lau. Walla

that if any kyndes of playes or mery pastymes be ex-
 ercysed amonge the wycked spirites whiche inhabite
 the ayre: I do iuge they are most exercysed and most
 delyted/ in countersaying and expresseing/ as it were
 in a stage playe/ the appayrell/ the pryde and the super-
 fluite/ vsed of clerkes. Whether shulde I more re-
 buke and inuade agaynst/ the folyshenes of the sen-
 tences (whiche you haue herde alreedy) ozelles the fo-
 lishnes of his wordes: as for example/ whan he say-
 eth. *Senatum uidet adoznari*: that the senate se-
 meth to be adourned/ as who shulde say doubtles/ that
 it is nat adourned in very dede/ and that to be adour-
 ned with glozy/ and whan he sayth that thynge to ha-
 ue ben done: whiche is but in doyng/ as *Promulga-*
uimus for *promulgamus*: We haue published or pro-
 nounced openly / for we do publyshe or pronounce
 openly. For in dede so the oration or speche sownderth
 moze plsaulnty. and whan he expresseth one and the
 same thynge bothe by the present/ and also by the pre-
 terperpyte tence: as *Decernimus* & *decreuimus*: we
 do decree/ and we haue decreed. And that all is full
 of these wordes *Decernimus* / *decozamus* / *imperias-*
lis / *imperatoria* / *potentia* / *gloria*. And that he abu-
 seth this verbe *Extat* / puttyng it for this verbe *est*
 (where as *Extare* sygnifyeth as moche as superemi-
 nere or supercelle: to stande vp / or to remayne and be
 leste) and *Nempe* for *Silicet*. And *Concubitores* for
 contubernales. He addeth also and ioyneth to hym
 certayne/ with whom he shulde slepe (as I wene) lest
 he myght feare phantalmes or apparitions and sygh-
 tes in the nyght / he addeth to him chaumberlayns/
 he addeth porters. It is nat for nought: wherfoze
 he reherceth these small thiges / he instructeth & tea-
 cheth a younge warde / or elles his sonne beyng a
 young man: and nat an olde man/ for whom / he / as
 a very loupng father / preparereth all thynge: wher-
 of his younge & tendre age hath nede: as Dauid did
 for Salomon. And that this lyeg tale shulde be per-
 fite/ & lackyng in no poynt. He gyueth hoxses to the
 clerkes/ lest they might els syt vpon alles backes aft ʒ
 folyshe

An ironie

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Mat xxi. foliſſhe maner of Chriſt. And thoſe hoſes / whiche
To folowe
 Chriſt in po-
 uertie & hum-
 bles: is ac-
 counted foli-
 ſhene of the
 clergie/nowe
 a dayes. are gyuen / are nat operati ſine inſtrati operimentis
 coloris albi: but decozati colore albo. That is to ſay
 nat couered with couerynges oꝝ clothes of whyte co-
 loure: but beautified and adourned with whyte co-
 loure. And with what couerynges oꝝ clothes: nat

with couerlettēs oꝝ arayes clothes / noꝝ with one oꝝ
 thet kynde of clothes: but onely / mappulis & linthea-
 minibus. Mappæ / that is to ſay / boꝝ declothes: be
 longe to a table. Lintheamina / that is to ſay ſhetes
 belonge to beddes. And as if it were doute / of what
 coloure table clothes / naphyns / and ſhetes were: He
 declareth it / ſayeng. id eſt candidiſſimo colore. that
 is to witte / of very whyte coloure. Is nat this ſeme-
 ly ſpeche foꝝ Constantine: Is nat this eloquence woꝝ-
 thy and mete foꝝ Lactance: bothe in other thynges:
 but ſpecially in this ſayng / Equos equitet. And nat
 withſtandynge / that he hath ſpoken nothyng of the
 apparrell of ſenatours / neither of their garment cal-
 led Latus clauus / neither of purple / neither of other
 garmentes appertaynyng to them: yet he thought it
 neceſſary / to ſpeake of their ſhowes. And he dyd nat
 call them Lunulas: but Udones oꝝ cum vdonibus /
 whiche / the folyſſhe felowe / as he is wonte to do / ex-
 powneth / ſayeng: Id eſt candido lintheamine: as
 though Udones were but linnen cloth. It cometh
 nat to my remembraunce at this tyme / where euer I
 haue red this worde Udones: but onely in Valerius
 Martialis / in whom there are two verſes / whoſe ti-
 tle is. Udones ciliini: as you wolde ſay ſockes of
 heer. The verſes are theſe.

Udones.

Non hos lana dedit / ſed olentis barba mariti

Cymphio poterit planta latere ſinu.

Whoe ſentence in Engliſſhe may be this. The ſtuſſe
 wherof theſe are made: is nat wolle / but the heer of
 the ſynking gottes bearde / ſo that nowe thou mayſt
 hyde thy fote in a ſhoe oꝝ ſocke of gottes heer. Udo-
 nes / therfoꝝ are nat of linnen / neither ar nat whyte /
 wherwith this two foted aſſe doth ſay / nat that þe fete
 of the ſenatours ar ſhoed: but that the ſenatours are
 illuſtra

The declamation of Lau. Walla

illustrated. Atq; per hoc ita caelestia sicut terrestria
ad laudem dei decorantur. And by this meane that
the heuenly thinges may be decked and adourned/e
uen so as the erthely thinges be: to þ laude oꝝ prayse
of god. Which callest thou heuenly thinges: whiche
erthely thinges: how oꝝ in what maner are the heue
ly thinges beutified oꝝ adourned: And what prayse
this shulde be to god: auple the/foꝝ I truly (if there
be any fayth oꝝ trouthe in me) do suppose nothyng to
be moze hatefull neither to god/neither to other men/
than to outragiousse liberte of clerkes in seculare thin
ges. But why do I in this wise make assaulte agai
nst euery particulare sayeng: The tyme wyll fayle me/
if I wolde/ I do nat saye amplyfie all thynges: but
onely touche them. ¶ *Præ oibus autem licentiam*
tribuitur beato Siluestro et successorib⁹ eius/ ex no
stro in dictu/ vt quem placatus proprio consilio cler
icare voluerit/ & in religioso numero religiosoz cler
icorum cōnumerare: nullus ex omnibus præsumat su
perbe agere. Aboue all we gyue lycence to blessed
Siluester/ and to his successors/ by our cōmaunde
ment/ that if it shall lyke & please hym to make any
maner man a clerke/ and to recken oꝝ accompte him
in the religiousse nombꝛe of religiousse clerkes: that
no man of al men what soeuer he be/ do presume to do
proudly. What Helehesedech is this here/ which blef
seth the Patriarche Abraham: Dothe Constantyne
beyng yet scaslly a Christen man/ gyue lycence and
power of makynge clerkes/ to him: of whom he was
baptised/ and whom he calleth blessed: As though
Siluester neuer had made/ neither coulde haue ma
de any clerkes before: And with what communicati
on oꝝ thretenyng dyd he foꝝbydde/ that no man shuld
let him/ oꝝ be an impediement to him: sayeng. *Nul*
lus ex omnibus præsumat superbe agere: Lette none
of all men presume to do proudly: And with howe
gret elegancie also sayeng. Cōnumerare in numero
religioso religiosorum/ et clericare clericorum/ & in
dictu/ & placatus. And than he retourneth agayn to
speke of þ diademe. *Decreuius itaq; & hoc/ vt ipse*
et suc

The secular
te of the cler
gye/ is odible
bothe to god
and man.

Gene. 12.

The declamation of Zan. Walla

et successores eius diademate / videlicet corona / quā
 ex capite nostro illi concesserimus ex auro purissimo
 et gemis preciosis : uti debeant pro honore beati Pe-
 tri. We haue decreed this also / that he / and his suc-
 cessours / ought to weare the diademe / that is to wit
 the crowne / whiche we haue gyuen to him from our
 owne heed / beyng of most pure golde and precious
 gemmes or stoues / for the honour of saynte Peter.
 Here agayne he dothe interprete & declare the worde
 Diadema : bycause he dyd speke to barbarouse & for-
 getful psons. And here he addeth also / Of most pure
 golde : lest peraduenture a man wolde suppose / that
 some coppie or brasse / or els some corruption or dross
 and fylth were mengled amonge it. And whā he had
 sayd / gemmas which was suspicient : he added Pre-
 ciosas / fearyng lykewise / lest a man wolde els perad-
 uenture haue demed them to haue ben of small value
 and lytell worth. But why dyd he nat saye Preciosis-
 simas / that is to say most precyouse : lykewise as he
 had sayd / Aurum purissimū / golde most pure & for
 there is moze difference in value / bytwene one gem-
 me or precyouse stone / and another : than is bytwene
 one golde / and another. And where he ought to haue
 sayde Distinctum gemmis .i. garnished or be sette
 with precious stones : he said that it was ex gemis .i.
 of precious stones. Who dothe nat see and perceyue
 that this maner of spekyng was taken of that place
 in the psalmes (whiche the hethen prince had neuer
 redde) *Psalm 20.* Voluisti in capite eius coronā de lapide pre-
 cioso .i. thou hast put on his heed a crowne of precy-
 ouse stone : Dyd Cesar speake in suche maner wyse /
 through a certayne dayneglorious desyer to bragge
 and boist of his crowne (if it be so / that Cesar were
 crowned) beyng cōtūmelyouse and rebukefull to his
 owne selfe / in that he dyd feare / lest men wolde haue
 supposed & thought hi nat to haue worn a crowne of
 most pure golde & precyouse stones : except he had gy-
 uen them knowledge therof / and tolde it them by his
 owne wordes. But herken now the cause why he
 speaketh so. For the honour of blessed Peter / as who
 should

The declamation of Lau. Walla

shulde say/ that Christ were nat þ chiefe corner stone /
 vpon which the temple of the church is buylded : but
 Peter / which thyng he doth also agayne afterwar-
 des. But if he was desyrours to worshippinge Peter so
 greatly: why dyd he nat dedycate the episcopale tem-
 ple at Rome to him : rather than to saynt John Bap-
 tiste : Moreover / dothe nat the very barbarousenes
 of the maner of speaking / wytnes openly : that this
 caroll hath ben sayned nat in the tyme of Constan-
 tyn / but in a tyme moze late : whan he sayth / Decree-
 uimus q vti debeant .i. we haue decreed / that they
 ought to weare : where he shulde haue sayd Decreeui-
 mus vt vtatur .i. we haue decreed that they may wea-
 re : Euen so speake barbarouse lawes nowe a dayes /
 & thus they write / Iussi q deberes venire: wher they
 shulde say / Iussi vt venires. And he sayth here De-
 creuimus et concessimus : we haue decreed & we haue
 graunted / as though these thynges were nat than in do-
 yng : but had ben done at some other tyme. ¶ Ipse
 vero beatus papa sup coronā clericat⁹ / quā gerit ad
 gloriā beatissimi Petri : ipsa ex auro non est passus
 vtī corona. But þ blessed pope hyselſe / dyd nat suffice
 to weare þ crowne of golde / vpon the crowne of his
 clarkeshippe / which he beareth to the gloꝝy & honour
 of most blessed Peter. O þ singulare & excedyng foli-
 shenes of you. O Constantine/ you said but euen now /
 þ the crowne vpon þ popes heed: did make for the ho-
 nour of sair Peter / & now you say / þ it maketh nothing
 at all for his honour : seinge þ Siluester refuseth it.
 And natwithstāding þ you do prayse his so doig: yet
 for all þ you do byd hi / & wyll hi to weare þ crowne of
 golde. And þ thige / which hyselſe thiketh þ he ought
 nat to do: þ same thige / you say / that his succellours
 ought to do / I passe ouer here / þ thou callest þ shauē
 crowne of his heed / coronā: which is wōt to be called
 calura / & that thou callest the byshop of Rome. papā /
 that is to say pope : whiche was nat yet at that tyme
 begonnen to be so called. ¶ Thigū vero condidit
 sumonitoꝝe spū dñi resurrectionē designantes /
 eius sacratissimo vertici manibz nris imposuim⁹ / et

A. ii.

tenen

The declamation of Lau. Tralla

tenētes frons equi / pro reuerētia beati Petri apłi / de-
 tratoris officiū illi exhibuim⁹ / statuetes eodē phrigio
 oēs eius succēssores singulariter vti in processionib⁹ /
 ad imperii nostri imitationē. And this copse / which
 by þ brightnes of the most whyte colour representeth þ
 resurrection of our lordē : we haue put with our han-
 des / vpon his most holy heed / & holding þ byrdell of
 his horse / for þ reuerēce of blessed Peter the apostle :
 we haue done to him þ office & dutie of a fotemā . Des-
 creig & ordaynig : þ al his succēssours shal weare þ sa-
 me copse oz cal / in þ pcellōs / to þ imitatio & folowig
 of our ēpiet . Doth nat þ authoꝝ & fader of this fable /
 seme / nat through lacke of takyng hede / & vnware :
 but euen of set purpose / & for the nonce / to play þ false
 harlotte / & to gyue men occasion on euery tyde / to re-
 buke him : He sayth here / in this one & the same place
 that by þ whyte copse is both the resurrection of our
 lordē represented : & also that in þ same is the imitatio
 & cōterfaytig of þ empiet of Cesar . which two thin-
 ges are most dyuerse & dysagreig / þ one frō the other
 I take god to recorde / I can nat fynde out oz deuple /
 with what wordes / oz w^t what greuousenelle oz hap-
 nousnelle of wordes : I mighte rebuke / & as it were
 woūde this most vngreatiouse & wretched knaue . he
 doth so parbreke forth all wordes full of madnes . He
 doth make Cōstāpue / nat only in officelyke to Moys.
 Which by þ cōmaūdemēte of god dyd apacply &
 adourne the highest & chiefe preest Aaron : but also he
 doth make hi expounding & declarig secrete misteries /
 which is a very herde thig to be done euen of thē also
 whiche haue studied / & ben occupied lōge seafō in the
 holy scriptures . Why dydest thou nat also make Cō-
 stātine þ greattest & the highest bisshoppel as many
 ēperours haue bē in þ olde tyme : þ by so moch his or-
 namētes might the better / & more cely & conueniēty
 be trāslated to the other high bisshop the pope . But
 thou wast ignozāte and vnkyllid in þ histoꝝes of an-
 tiquite . I do therfore gyue thankes to god for this
 cause / that he hath nat suffred so wicked and so ma-
 lytiouse a mynde to be in any man : save onely in the
 bepng

Leuiticus
 Exodi . 28

The declamation of Lau. Valla

being a sharke sole without lemyng/ which appereth
 also evidently/ by that which foloweth. For he byn-
 geth in Moyses doyng þe offyce & dute of a toteman
 vnto Aaron sittynge on horse backe / & þe nat through
 the myddes of the chyldren of Israell: but through þe
 myddes of þe Chananites / & of the Egyptians / that
 is to saye / through the cyte of infideles / where was
 nat so moche the emptier of the worlde as was the em-
 pier of deuilles / & of people worþyppynge deuilles
 or wyched spirites. ¶ Vnde vt pontificalis apex nõ
 vilescat / sed magis q̃ imperii terreni dignitas / gl'a
 et pot'ia decoretur: ecce tam palatiũ nrm / quamq̃
 Ro: bybem / et ofe Italiae siue occidentalũ regionũ
 prouincias / loca / ciuitates / beatissimo p̃fati / et vni-
 uersali papæ / Siluestro. reuini? atq̃ ecliquim? / et
 ab eo et successoribus eius pro pragmatica cõstitutõ
 decretum? disponẽdas / atq̃ iuri sacrae Ro: ecclesiæ p̃
 manẽdas. ¶ Wherefore / that þe highe dignite of þe pope
 may nat waxe vile & of small reputatiõ / but þe may
 be beautified & made honorable more than þe bygnite /
 glori / & power of our erthely epier: beholde hẽre we
 deliuer vp / & doleue to the most blessed & vniuersall
 pope Siluester / as well our palayce: as þe cyte of Ro-
 me / & all þe prouinces / palaces / cyties of Italy / or of þe
 west regiõs. And by our pragmatical cõstitutiõ or de-
 cree / we haue decreed: þe they shal be disposed by him
 & his successours / & that they shal cõtinue & remaie
 to þe right of the hole church of Rõe. Hereof we haue
 spoken many thynges & that largely / in þe oratiõ of the
 Romaynes / & in the oratiõ of Siluester. But now
 here is mete place to saye / þe no mã wolde haue ben so
 vniuersal: as to wrappe in & include al þe nations of the
 donation in one worde. And it is nat lykely / that he
 whiche before had made menton of euery small tyt
 fell / deauynly out or ouerhyppynge nat: so moche as the
 shoes / the tynen / clothes / the ornamentes of the hore
 leas: wolde nat now also reherse the prouinces by na-
 me / in euery oric of the whiche sayd prouinces / eche
 one hath the stat howe fructually a king or a p̃rce egall a
 p̃rce to a king. But this fall forger of wytt / doubtles

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

knowe nat which prouinces were vnder Constantines
 donation and gouernance: and which were nat. for
 of certaynts all were nat vnder him. We do se that af
 ter Alexander was deed/ the regions eche one of them
 were nombred & rekened / in the prytton of deuifyon
 made by the dukes. We do se that Xenophon hath na
 med the landes & the prouices/ which were either wyl
 lyncg & of their owne accord: or els by conqst/ vnder þ
 empire of Cyrus. We se also/ that Homerus maketh
 reherfall & rekeneth by þ name / the stocke or kynred/
 the coultre/ the condicions or maners / the strength/ the
 beautie / & wel fauerdnesse of the kynges / that were of
 the Grekes & of the barbarians. He copprehendeth / as
 it were in a bederole / also the nobye of the shippes / &
 welnere the nobye of the souldiers. The ensample of
 whom / bothe many greke authours / & in especiall our
 latyn authours / Ennius / Vergilius / Lucanus / Sta
 tius / & certayne other haue folowed: We do se also / þ
 Josue & Moyles in the deuyding of the lande of Be
 nest / byd describe & marke out euyn all the lytell stre
 tes. And art thou greued to reherce & reken by euyn
 prouinces also? Thou namest onely the occidentall or
 west prouinces / whiche be the meres or bouides of the
 west. Where do they begyn? Where do they make an
 ende? Are the bouides or meres of the west / of the east
 of the North / & of the South marked forthe or sette /
 and as certayne, as be the boundes or meres of Asia/
 Affrike & Europe. Thou leauest out the wordes that
 were necessarie / which were nothyng nedeful. Thou
 sayd prouynces / places / & cyties. Are nat both proui
 ces & cyties: places? And whan thou haddest said prou
 ynices: thou puttest after / cyties / as who wolde say /
 that cities were nat comprehended & vnderstâded vn
 der this worde prouynces. But it is no maruayll of hi
 which doth alpenate and gyue from himselfe so great
 a parte of the worlde: if the same doth ouertyppe the
 names of the cyties & prouinces / and as it were one
 oppressed with the diseale called the letharge: wot
 teth nat / what himselfe doth speake. Italia sine oc
 cidentalibus regionibus. i. of Italy or of the west regions
 As

Rede in the
 booke of Jo
 sue from the
 xiii. chap. of
 the. xix. inclu
 sively:

The declamation of Lau. Walla

As though he had gyue but onely the one or the other
 and yet he meaneth bothe of them to haue ben gyuen.
 And he calleth here *provincias regionum*. i. the pro-
 uinces of regions: notwithstanding that rather re-
 gions are *provinciarum*. i. regions/ be partes belon-
 gging to provinces. And he sayth/*permanebas*: for *per-*
manuras. ¶ *Unde congruū prosperimus nostrum*
imperium/ et regiam potestatem/ orientalibus transferri re-
gionibus/ et in Bizantinæ provincie optimo loco/ no-
mini nostro ciuitate edificari illū nostrum constitui
imperium. Wherfore we haue iuged it to be conue-
 niente & mete / that oure emper and to all power be
 translated to the Est regions/ and that a cyte be buil-
 ded to our name in the best place of the prouince of By-
 zantium / and that there our emper be constituted and
 sette. I passe ouer here that he sayd/ *ciuitatem ædifi-*
cari: where he shulde haue sayd/ *urbem edificari* (for
ciuitas betokeneth the multitude of cytizens: whi-
 che are nat edified or buylded) and that he sayd/ *Ita-*
liam provinciam: But if thou be Constantine: shewe
 the cause / why thou hast chosen that place principally
 afore other/ to buylde thy cyte in: for that thou dost
 remoue & flyt in to another place/ after that thou had-
 dest delyuered vp Rome out of thy handes: it is nat
 so moch couenient and mete (so as thou callest it) as
 it is necessary or needfull. Neither do thou call thyself
 an emperour: seyng that thou hast lost Rome/ & hast
 done very moche hurte vnto þ name of the Romayne
 epier/ whiche thou tearest in sondre & pullest in peces.
 Neither do thou call thy selfe a kyng / sayeng/ et no-
 stra regiam potestatem: which neuer none dyd afore thes
 excepte thou doste call thyselfe a kyng: bycause thou
 arte now no longer a Romane. But thou allegest a
 cause forth very honest & worshipfull/ sayng. Quoniam
 ubi princeps sacerdotum/ et christianæ religionis caput
 constitutum est ab eo imperatore celesti: iustum non est / ut
 illic imperator terrenus habeat potestatem. For where
 þ chiefe & highest prest & the hed of þ christian religio is
 constituted & set by þ heuenly epier: it is nat righte
 nor accordig/ that þ earthly epier shulde there haue
 any power or auctorite. O foolish Dauid/ O foolish

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

[illegible]

Math 2-4

Rede the last
chap. of the
fyrste boke of
kynges & the
xii. chap. of
the thirde bo-
ke.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

god: shall ppetually remayne/ & contynue eyn to the
ende of the worlde: Moreover/ who thought you so
sone/ that the worlde shulde perishe & haue an ende:
For I do nat suppose / that at this tyme you do gyue
credēce to Poetes: which also do recozde the same/ it
foloweth therfore/ y you wolde nat haue sayd this:
but that another mā hath sayned & forged this of you
But he/ which but eyn ryght now spake so highly &
so proudly: now begynneth to feare and to mistrust
him selfe/ And therfore he falleth to besechyng & pray
yng in goddes behalfe/ and adiurations / sayenge.

¶ *Unde coram deo uiuo / qui nos regnare praecepit /
et corā terribili ei⁹ iudicio / obtestamur oēs nrōs suc
cessores imperatores / & cūctos optimates / satrapas
etiā / amplissimū q̄ senatū / & vniuersum populum in
vniuerso oꝛbe terrarū / necnon et in posterum / nullo
coꝛū quoquo modo licere hoc aut constringere / vel in
quoquo conuelli .* Wherefore afore the lyuyng god /
which hath comaunded vs to reygne/ & afore his ter
rible & dreadfull iugement: we obtest & require all oue
successours the eperours / & all the optimates / the du
kes & cris also / & the most noble senatours / & all the
people in the hole worlde/ which now are/ oꝛ hereafter
shall be: that none of the all / any maner way infringe
oꝛ breake this oue pꝛiuelege / oꝛ minyshe it in anye
poynte . How resonable / & how deuoute & godly an
adiuration is this : euen moche lyke / as if the wolfe
shulde obtest & besech other wolues / & the shepherds
by his owne innocēcie & fidelite: that y fermer soꝛte
(that is to wit the wolues) wyl nat attempte noꝛ en
terpryse / to take away : & that the latter soꝛte (that is
to wit the shepherdes) wyl nat go aboute to ashe &
require agaiē the shepe : whiche he hath takē / & hath
deuyded among his sonnes and his frendes . Why
are you so greatly afayde / **¶** *Constantynat* If that
whiche you do be of god : it can nat be dyscolued oꝛ
fordone . But if it be nat of god : poore worke oꝛ
dede shall now stāde . But I se & perceyue right well
you dyd coneyte to couiterseyte y wordes of the apoca
lipse/ where it is sayde . I testify to him that hereth

all the

*An abuse to
the wordes of
Gamaliel in
the .v. chap.
of the actes.*

The declamation of Lan. Talla

Apocalip
se the last
chap.

all the wordes of þe prophecie of this boke / if any mā
shall adde oꝝ put to any thing to these / god shall adde
oꝝ put vnto him þe plagis wꝛitten in this boke. And
if any man shall minisþ any thing of þe wordes of the
prophecie of this boke / god shall take away his pte
out of þe boke of lyfe / & out of þe holy cyte. But you
neuer red þe Apocalipse / wherfoze these were nat your
wordes. ¶ *Si quis autē (quod non credim⁹) in hoc*
temeratoꝝ extiterit æternis cōdēnationib⁹ subiaceat
cōdēnatus / et sanctos dei apostolos Petrū & Paulū
sibi in pꝛæsentī / & in futura vita sentiat contrarios /
Atq; in inferno inferioꝝ scz concrematus / cū diabolo
& oībus deficiat impiis. But if any man (which thin
ge we do nat suppose) shall breake oꝝ violate this pꝛi
uilege : let him lye condēned vnder euerlastyng con
dēnations / & let him finde & fele the holy Apostles of
god Peter & Paule / enemyes to hi / both in this pꝛēte
lyfe / & in the lyfe to come. And beyng bzente in the de
pest hell / let him dye eternally / & banished be he foꝝ
euermoze from the syght of god / with the deuyl & all
wycked persons. This fearfull sentēce & cōmination
it nat wōte to be bled of any Cesar oꝝ seculare pꝛin
ce : but of the pꝛiestes of the false goddes in olde tyme /
& now of the ecclesiastical persons. These ar nat ther
foze the wordes of Constantine : but of some folyshe
clerke / which wotteth neither what he speaketh : nei
ther how he speaketh / but which beyng fatte and well
fedde / in the myddes of his surfetyng / & in the great
heate of wyne / beltheth foꝝth suche sentences / & suche
wordes / as these are / which lyght nat vpon any other
man : but are touched agayn vpon him / þe speaketh the
spꝛyke / he sayth. *Eternis cōdēnationib⁹ subiaceat.*
let hi be subiected to euerlastyng cōdēnations. After
wardes / as if moze might be put to foꝝ þe augmētation
thereof he coueteth to adde other thylges. And after þe
eternal paines : he ioyneth to þe paines of this pꝛēte
lyfe. And whā he hath put vs in feare wth þe cōdēnatio
of god : yet after wardes (as if this were a gretter thi
ge) he maketh vs afraide wth þe hatred & euyl wyll of
Peter / to whō wherfoꝝ he doth ioine Paul / oꝝ why hi
alone :

The declamation of Lau. Walla

alone: I can nat tell. Agayn/after his olde letharge
and maner of forgettynge hym selfe / he retourneth
agayn to the euerlasting paines / as if he had nat spo
ke of the befoze. But if these were the thyettes and exe
crations oꝝ cursynges of Constantyne / I wolde curse
him agayn / as beyng a tyrante / and the deströyer of
my cömunne weale / & after the maner of the Romans
I wolde threten him / that I my selfe wolde be reuen
ged on him. But now / who regardeth oꝝ setteth any
whitte by the execration oꝝ curse of the most couetous
se felow: and which after the maner of stage players
countrefayteth and fayneth wordes and wolde make
other men astrayde vnder the person of Constantyne.
This is euen properly / to be an hypocryte (if we set
the oute and consyder well the signification of this
greke worde hypochryta) vnder the pson of another
man / to hyde thyne owne. **H**uius vero imperialis
decreti paginam propriis manibus roborantes / sup
veneradū corpus beati Petri posuimus. And we ha
ue strēgthynge & fortifyng the payne of this eperi
all decree with our owne handes: haue layde it vpon
the worshopfull corps oꝝ bodye of the blessed Peter /
Was it paper oꝝ parchemē: this pagine / wherin these
thinges were wrytten: How be it a pagine / we do cal
the one syde of a lefe / as a quayer of .x. leues hath .xx.
pagines oꝝ sydes. O thyng / which neuer was her
de: & which is vnbeleueable / whā I was a very yon
ge man / I remēbre / that I demaunded of a certayn
persone / who hadde wrytten the boke of Job / and
whā he hadde made answeꝝ / that Job him selfe
hadde wrytten it: than I sayde to him agayne. Howe
coude he than make mention of his owne deth: whi
che thyng may be sayde also of many other bokes:
wherof to speke / here is no conuenient place / for how
can þ thyng be truly tolde of any man: which thinge
is nat yet done: oꝝ how can þ thyng be cōtayned w
in þ writte: which thing (as he him self cōfelleth) was
done after þ burial (if I may so say) of þ writ: This
is none other thinge / but to say / þ the pagine of þ pri
uilege was dead / ye / & buried afore þ it was boꝝne / &
pet

Lethargus is
a discafe / ma
kyng men to
be meruailous
le slepic: and
also forget
full.

Hypocrita si
mulator / mis
mus / & faye
ner oꝝ contre
fayter.

Pagina.

The boke oꝝ
hystorie of
Job / was nat
wrytten by
Job hi selfe.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

pet that it dyd neuer retourne after his deth and burial/ namely seyng that it was robozated and strengthened afore that it was wrytten/ and that nat with one hande but with both the handes of Cesar. And what meanest thou/ whan thou sayst robozatyng & strengthening: was it strengthened with the hande wryttinge of Cesar his selfe: or els was it sealed with his signet: This was a great strengthening doutles / and moche greater: than if he hadde grauen it in tables of brasle But it neded it nat to wryte them in brasle: **An Ironi** seyng that the paper was layde vpon the body of blessed Peter/ why spekest thou here no worde of Daule/ which lyeth buried with Peter / and they both together myght better and moze safely kepe it: than the body of the one of them alone: you see here the craftes and malycious subteltie of this our most wicked and gylefull Synon. Because the donation of Constantyne can nat be, cuydently proued: therfore he sayde / that the priuilege is nat wrytten in tables of brasle/ but of paper/ and it lyeth buried and hydde with the body of the most blessed Apostle: that we shulde nat be bolde either to serche it in y. worshypfull sepulchre or graue / or els if we wolde serche it: that we shulde thynke it to be rotten and consumed. But where was than the bodye of blessed Peter: Doubtles nat in the temple or church where it is now / nor in no stronge or safe place / it foloweth therfore / that Cesar wolde nat haue layde the writte or pagine in that place / where the body was. Doubt he nat put Siluester in trust with the pagine: was Siluester so vnholy: was he so folysh: was he so neglyget & rechelesse: O Peter / O Siluester / O you bysshoppes of the holy church of Rome / to whom y. cure & charge of the lordes shepe is comytted: why do you nat kepe safe the pagine whiche was comitted and betaken to you: why haue you suffred it to be gnawen and eaten of wormes: & to consume and rotte away for age: I suppose it is / bycause your owne bodies also haue rotted and haue ben consumed. Than dyd Constantyne folpshely to lay it with your bodies. Lo / now that the pagine is
resolved

The declamation of Lau. Italia

reformed and brought in to powder or dust: the right
 title of the privilege is also turned into dust and
 brought to nought; But yet you will say / that there
 remaineth a copie of the same payne / as we do see.
 Who thā was he: which was so presumptuous and
 foolishly hardy / to take this payne from the bosome of
 the most holy apostle: Doubtes you ought to bring
 forth or name some of the olde authours / & such one
 as was alive in Constantines tyme. But you can nat
 bring forth or name any such writer. But peradven-
 ture you will bring forth some man that wrot of late
 tyme. Where had he this knowlege: for who so ever
 maketh any historie of thinges done afore his tyme /
 either he speaketh as the holy ghost endyeth to him /
 and putteth in to his mynde: or els he foloweth the au-
 thorite of the olde authours / & that of such as wrote
 of thinges done in their owne tyme. Wherefore who so
 ever doth nat folowe the olde authours / he shalbe of
 the nombre of them whom very auncientnesse & antiq-
 uitie maketh hardy and bolde to make leasynge. And
 if in any place this thyng be reed / it doth accorde and
 agree with antiquite / cun as moch as that penyffte
 and madde narration of Accursius the glose maker /
 which he telleth of embassadours sent from Rome to
 Grece lande for to receyue the lawes / both accorde wth
 Titus Livi^{us} / & other most excellent authours of the
 olde tyme. ¶ Datum Rome tertio calendās Aprilis
 Constantino Augusto quarto consule / et Gallicano
 quarto consule. i. Given at Rome the .xxv. daye of
 Marche / Constantine Augustus being than the fourth
 tyme consull / & Gallicanus also being than y fourth
 tyme consull. He hath dated the payne / on the last
 day of Marche save one: that we shulde suppose it to
 have bene done / about the tyme of those Easter holy
 dayes / whiche are wonte comunely to fall about that
 tyme. Et Constantino quartum consule / and Galli-
 cano quartum consule. And Constantine being thā
 the fourth tyme consull / and Gallicanus also being
 than y fourth tyme consull. It is a meruaylouse thig
 if both Constantine and Gallicanus had ben either of
 them

Accursius.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

them thyse consull afore that tyme : that than at the
 fourth tyme they shulde both be chosen felowes toge-
 ther in that offyce . But it is a gretter meruayle/ and
 moze to be wondzed at / that the emperour Augustus
 beyng full of the leprie/ called Elephantia (bycause
 it palleth other dysseales : as the elephant dothe other
 beastes) wolde take that highe dignyte and offyce of
 a consull hypon him / seying that Arias / as sone as
 he was touched with the leprie : kepte himselfe secret
 within the house / comyttynge the ordynng and gouer-
 nauce of his realme / to his sonne Jonathas/ as for
 the most parte/ all leprouse kynges were wont to do .
 By whiche argumente alone / all the hole priuilege
 is vtterly confuted / proued false/ & ouerthrowen . And
 that no man may dout/ but that it must nedes be/ that
 he was infected with leprie/ afore that he was made
 consull : let him vnderstande and know this (whiche
 thinge physycions do wytnesse) that this sickenes or
 dysseale groweth and encreaseth preuely/ by lytell and
 lytell . And agayn lette him vnderstande and knowe
 this also (which appereth euidently by olde histories)
 that they were wonte to entre in to the offyce of the
 consull / in the moneth of Januarie / and that it was
 in offyce lastyng but one yere . And these thinges are
 sayde to haue ben done at the March next after . And
 here also I can nat ouerhyppre this/ that in epistels is
 wonte to be wrytten : Datū . ꝛc . but nat in other wry-
 tynges/ excepte it be of suche as haue no lernyng/ for
 epistels or letters are said to be gyuen : & therfore we
 say/ Do tibi epistolam/ or Do ad te epistolam/ Do ti-
 bi epistolam is almoche so saye/ as I gyue a letter to
 you/ as to a carier for to delyuer it in to his hādes/ to
 whom it is wrytten or sende . Do ad te epistolā/ is as
 moch to say/ as I wryte or sende a letter to you . But
 this priuilege (as they call it) of Constātyne/ whiche
 ought nat to be delyuered to any man/ ought also nat
 to haue ben said to be gyuen/ so that it may appere e-
 uidently/ that he whiche spake thus dyd lye falsely/ &
 yet had no wytte or cōnyng to sayne craftely such thi-
 ges/ as it might be lykely to be trewe/ that Constā-
 tyne

✦ Reg. 13.

Joseph.
libro no-
no cha. 11.

Do tibi
epistolā.

Do ad te
epistolā.

The Declaration of Latt. Massa

tyme either say so or by. And all they make themselves
 perswaders and say so to him by folishnesse and
 reasoner who to say so they think and defende it that
 they shall be hard sayd and say theynges: albeit that they
 haue nothing / whereby they may / for what say defende:
 but how they excuse their opinion. Is this an honest
 excuse or excuse? what thou seest the truth manifest
 ly and openly the way that to be willing to agree but
 so it / by these certain great and excellent men haue
 been of the contrary opinion to the contrary. (I meane
 great men of dignitie and neither of wisdom / nei-
 ther of vertue.) But yet whereby knowest thou / whe-
 ther they / whom thou followest / if they had heard the
 same saynges so plainly declared / whether thou dost
 be so / wouldest cōfesse and abyde still in their opinion
 or else wouldest go from it and forsake it. And yet neuer
 the lesse it is a great shame / and an excusynge great
 offence to regarde a man more / and to gyue to hym
 more credence / than we do regarde the trouthe / and
 gyue credence to it / that is to witte / to god. For ve-
 rily certain men be of a verye despitous of all reasons or
 argumentes: are wylle to miswrite in this wyse.
 why haue so many popes beleued this donation to be
 true? If I testyfy to you / you do piouske me to that /
 whiche I am euill wyllynge & loth to do / and you do
 compell me agaynst my wyll / to speake euill of the
 popes: whom I had leaue / if I myght / to hyde and
 couce in their offences and trespasses. But let vs pro-
 ceede & holde on to speake boldly / in as muche as this
 cause can nat otherwise be pleaded. Thoughe I do
 graunt that the popes did verily so beleue / & that they
 dyd it nat of a crafty & malicious purpose. What mar-
 uelle is it if they dyd beleue these thynges / wherein so
 great lucre & advantage is pleasant & lypnyng to the /
 sayng that throughe excusynge folishnesse & lacke of
 knowlege / they do beleue many thynges / wherein no
 lucre at all is shewed. Do we nat at Ista Celt / in so
 excellent a temple / in the moste worshipfull and holy
 place / see a paynted table of Sybill and Octavian /
 as they say / by the auctorite and comaundement of Jn

It is an ex-
 cusing shame/
 to gyue more
 credence to as
 ny man: than
 we do gyue
 to the trouthe
 selfe.

Popes fol-
 lowe / and igno-
 rance.

The Declaration of Lau. Walla

Innocentius the thirde / wryting these wordes / Which
 also lette in wryting of the decay & ruine of the temple of Peace / about the ruine of the byrch of the same
 out / is to say / what the byrch brought forth this day.
 :: Whiche they gesappaynment / to the destruction
 of faith / for that they are false and untrue / than to the
 establisshing of it / because they are marvelous & wo-
 derfull thynges. Dare the heart of crutch / for the appe-
 raunce of trouthe & godlynesse / behold to make weake
 wrytingly to bynde himselfe to so great synne why?
 Doth he nat lyce? Ye moreouer / doth he nat se what
 he doth this / that he disagreeth & bateth from most ho-
 ly men & papas ouer other. Doth nat lase. Jerome
 bly the testimony & witness of Walla / that they were
 ten. Subels / whiche worke Walla made aboue Augu-
 stus his tyme. And the same Jerome wryteth in his
 wyse of the temple of Peace. Vaspasianus & Titus / af-
 ter that the temple of Peace was capied & byrden at
 Rome / they byd consecrate the vessels of the temple & all
 the gyftes & pargies in the temple of the same place /
 which thynges the Grekes the Romaine history tel-
 leth & reherceth. And this byrdened felow along wold
 that more credence shulde be gyven to his penultly lytel
 boke / & the same also barbarously wrytte / than to the
 most faithfull & true histories of the most wise men /
 that wrot in y. olde tyme. Bycause I haue made men-
 tion somewhat of Jeronimy / I can nat suffice this co-
 tumely done to him / to be passed ouer with silence. At
 Rome / by the auctorite & commaundement of the pope / as
 the wed a certayne boke of the Byble / as it were a ce-
 lyque of some sainte / with tapers alwayes lighted /
 which they say / to haue be wryten with saint Jeronis
 mes owne hande. Wylte thou aske / by what euidēt to-
 ke they know that. Bycause ther is / (as Uergill saith)
 Multū pictae bellis et aurū. Doth of paynted gar-
 ments & of golde. And the very thig selfe sheweth ra-
 ther / that it was nat wrytte with sainte Jeronis owne
 hande. Whā I had looked somewhat more dilygently in
 this boke : I founde / that it was wrytte by the comma-
 demēt of a kige (Robert / as I wene) with shāpe of
 an vns

Jerome.

A boke of the
 bible is kept
 & shewd for
 a relique at
 Rome / as tho-
 ugh it had be
 wrytten with
 saynt Jeron-
 imes owne ha-
 de : whiche
 was wrytten
 of an vnle-
 ned man.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

of an vnlearned man / moche lyke herbnto is it (albest
there at a thousande suche maner thynges at Rome)
that among the holy relykes there / is shewed in a cer
tayne table / y ymage or portrature of Peter & Paule
whiche Syluester shewed to Constātyne / after that
he had ben monysshed & taught of the same Apostels
in his slepe / for the cōfymation of the visyon that he
had sene. I do nat say this bicause I do deny y those
ymages or purtatures be the true ymages & pictures
of the afozenamed apostles (and wolde god / that the
epistle / whiche was sente in the name of Lentulus / of
the ymage of Chryste: were as true / whiche doutles
hath be no lesse loudly forged / thā this falle pmiuilege /
whiche we haue cōfuted) but for y / that Siluester did
neuer shewe that table to Constātyne / In which thin
ge I can nat fynde in myne herte to kepe within me /
the great meruayling of my mynde. For I wyll dis
pute & reason somewhat of the tale / whiche is forged
of Siluester. And bicause both al our questyō depen
deth herof / and also seyng that I do speke to the po
pes of Rome / it shall be most semely & accordyng for
me / to speake of a pope of Rome / that by this one en
sample / a cōiecture may casely be taken of other thin
ges. And amouge many other sonde folyes & madde
titules / which are tolde & reherced therein: I wyll tou
che that onely of the dragon / to the intent that I may
euydently cause you to knowe / that Constātyne was
nat full of leprosie (For the actes of Siluester or the hi
storie of hi: as the interpretour witheloth) was made
by one Eusebius a certayneman of Greecelāde / whi
che nation hath alwayes be greatly gyuen to lyeng /
as Iuuenale repoxeth of thei / sayeng in his checkig
sarpis. *Quicquid Graeci mendax audet in historia .i.
What so euer thyng the lyeng Grekes dare be bold
to do / in writig of histories: from whence byd that
dragon come. Dragons are nat genored at Rome.
Whiche also had that dragon his popson: Desiderous
so and venemouse dragons are sayde to be onely in
Alyssie / by the reason of the credyng and outragi
ous heat of p̄region. Besydes this / whence coulde
from*

The epistle
of Lentulus /
concerning the
ymage of Chri
ste: is a false
forged thig.

The confuta
tion of that
fained talcof
the dragon /
which is red
de in the lyfe
of saint Sil
uester.

who was the
author of sa
ie Siluesters
lyfe.

The histori
es of the Gre
kes are corrup
ted with lies

The declamation of Zan. Ualla

he haue so moche habundance & plentie of venome &
poyson/ that he might infecte and corrupt with pesti-
lence/ so large a space / namely seyng that hym selfe
laye downe in so depe a denne or dongion / that men
wente downe in to it/ by an hundred and fyfte steps
or staires: Serpentes (onely the Basilyske or

*Serpentes ar
not some nat
with they
brette: but
with their bi
tyng: onely
the cocodrile
except.*

Cocodrile excepted) do poyson & kyll men / nat with
their brette: but with their byting. Neither Cato /
whan he fledde from Cesar with so great an hoste of
men / whyles he toynayed through the myddes of A-
phyricke sondes/ and slepte there: sawe any of his com-
pany kylled or destroyed with the venemouse brea-

Cato.

thing of any serpentes. Neither the peoples of that
countrey do fele any corruption or infection of the ayre
through that cause. And if we do geue any credence
to poetes fables: bothe Chimera the monstre/ and
Hydra / and Cerberus the mastiffe of hell / were sene
and touched comunely / without any harme or hurte
taken thereby. Agayne/ why wolde nat the Romayns
rather haue kylled hym: Thou wilt peraduenture
say / bycause they were nat able. But yet Regulus

**Marcus
Cato Re-
gulus.**

slewe a moche greater serpente in Arike / at the ban-
ke of the ryuer Bzagdza. And it was no maistrey to
haue kylled this dragon: if they had done no more /
but onely haue closed or stopped vp the mouth of the
caue or denne. What: wolde they nat do so? I sup-
pose they dyd worshippe hi for a god/ eyn so as the

Dan. 14.

Babylonians dyd worshippe another dragon. Why
than wolde natte Syluester rather haue slayne this
dragon: so as it is sayd/ that Daniell did in the olde
tyme: Why wolde he nat haue bounde him with an
hempen threde: and haue destroyed þe house for euer?

*In the prolo-
ge afore the
booke of Dan-
iel.*

But the forger of this tale / wolde nat that the dragon
shulde be kylled: lest men might playnly demeane
ge/ that he dyd reberte the narratton of Daniell. Se-

*In the prolo-
ge afore the
booke of Dan-
iel.*

ying than/ that saynt Jerome / a man most excellently
learned/ and the most faithfully interpretour. And
Appolinaris / and Origene/ and Eusebius / and cer-
tayne other authours / do asseyne and saye / that the
narration of Bell is fayned / and a forged lye: it was
moch

The declamation of Lau. Walla

moche also as the Jewes wpll nat knowlege it to be
in the princypall copie of the olde Testament/that is
to say/ if all the best lacyne authours / and the moſte
parte of the Gerke authours/ and euery one of the be
brue authours / do dampne and dylalow that narra
tion/ as beyng nought els but alyeng fable : thal nat
I dylalow and dampne this tale / which was coun
terfayted & made to the lyknes of that fable : ſeyng
that it can nat be ſtrengthened and vpholden by the au
thorite of any authour/ and/agayn dothe ſarre paſſe
the other tale / to whoſe lykeneſſe it was ſhapen / in
foliſhnes : For who had buylded an houſe vnder the
grownde for þ beaſt : who had put that beaſt in that
houſe : and had comaunded him that he ſhulde nat
come forth and dye away : For dragons do dye/ as
certayne men ſayne / though other men do ſaye nay)
who had deuyſed and ymagined that kinde of meate?
Who had comaunded women and thoſe virgins and
nonnes to go downe into that denne : and that neuer
but on the fyrſte day of the moneth : Dyd the dragon
knowe whiche was the firſt daye of the moneth : and
was he contented with ſo ſcare and ſyldome meate?
For dyd the Virgins drede ſo depe a dongyon : ſo
gret/ ſo cruell/ and ſo hungry a beaſt : I ſuppoſe the
dragon ſawned on them : bycauſe they were womē/ bi
cauſe they were virgins / and bycauſe they broughte
hym meate . ye / and I ſuppoſe alſo/ that he did com
mune and talke with them. And why ſhulde he nat
alſo (ſayng your reuerence) haue to do and gendre
with them. For bothe Alexandre & alſo Scipio/ are
ſaid to haue ben begoten by a ſerpent or dragon/ that
lay with their mothers. What ſay you moxouer/ af
ter that his wonte meate or foode was denyed hym/
wolde he nat rather haue come forth and ben ſlayne.
¶ The marueylous madneſſe of men/ whiche do
gyue credence to ſuche olde dotynge wyues tales.
But moxouer howe longe tyme hath this thyng ben
done/ whan was it begon? afore the commynge of
ours Sauoure. After the commynge of hym.

The narratiō
of hell is nat
in the hebrew
booke.

An irony

Rede plures
che in the ly
ues of Alex
dre & Scipio

Done

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

None of all these thynges is knowe: Let vs be ascha-
med of suche trislyng tales / and of our lyghnelle.
Let a chursten man be a shamed / whiche nameth him
selfe þe sone of lyght & of trouthe: to viter oꝝ speke forth
any such thynges / which nat onely are nat true: but al-
so nothig lykely to be true. But paduētūre they wyl
say / that deuylles & wicked spirites had suche power
amonge þe gētyles oꝝ paynms: þe they might illude &
mocke the: bycause they did serue falle goddes. Hol-
de your tonges most shales men (bycause I wyl nat
say most wicked & vngreatouse men) which haue al-
wayes such a cloke / to couer & hyde your fables & lyes
The churlyan sicerpte & trouthe / nedeth nat / noꝝ despy-
seth the helpe & defere of falsehed & vntrouth it is deff-
ded suffyced pꝛy & moze than suffycedly / by it selfe /
and by it own light & verite / without any such fayned
& deceptfull tales / which are very cōtūmelyouse & blas-
phemus both agāst god / agaynst Churly / & agaynst
the holy ghoſt. Had god so delpuered mākyde into þe
power of the deuylles that they shulde be illuded and
mocked / with so manysse / with so imperiousse & lord-
ly miracles & wōders: þe in a maner both he might be
accused of iustice / for that he cōmitted þe thepe to the
wolfe / and me also myght haue a great excuse of the
errours. And if in the olde tyme / the deuylles had so
great power ouer herthe men: they shulde now haue
euen moze power amonge the / which thyng for all that
we do nat se to be so / neither any suche fables oꝝ tolde
of the. I wyl nat speke of other peoples: but I wyl
onely speake of the people of Rome / among whō be-
ry few miracles oꝝ wōdres are spoken of / and those
of olde tyme / and nat of cōtēpā. Valerij Marimus
sayth that the opening & gaping of the erthe / in the
midde of the markett place / after that Curtius had
caste him selfe being armed / and his horse also into
it: came togyther and closed agayne / and forthwith
retourneþ into the olde state agayne. Also he sayth
that Juno Moneta / when she was demaunded and
asked in bourde of wyladye of Rome / after that
the Cytie Venne was takenne / whether she were
wyllyng

The Christ
berite nedeth
nat any help
of vntrouth
of falsehed / it
is stronge pꝛy
nough of it
selfe alone.

Libro quinto
titulo sexto
de pietate et
ga patriā ch.
b.c. xxxviii.

Libro primo
titulo octauo
de miraculis
chap. xciii.

The declamation of Laus. Walla

wyllyng to remoue & flytte to Rome/ made and were.
 Ye saye of Titus. Laus. this eth natther of these two
 thynges to be so / which has authoure both more aunc-
 tida / & of an elder tyme / than Valerius / & also of greater
 authorite. For his mynde is / that yafore sayd openig
 of the earth / denc yd / & ymagine / & demapne. Byl after y
 tyme / & that it was a caue / which had be there of lōge
 cōtynuaunce / & yf nat / & nat / that y / groude yd / thā
 fodepūp open & gape / and that it was there / & afōre y
 Rome was buylden / and that it was called Curtius
 Lacus / by cause y Curtius wher the Sabyne had
 lūked / & yd hīsef therin / wher he fledde from the
 hāsh & ypolēpūlūne of y Romayns. And y same
 Titus. Laus. wyl assen / that Jano made none an-
 swere / but onely yd make a becke of spgne with her
 heed / that she was cōtented / & wyllyng to remoue from
 thēce / to lōc. After whos des this was put to the tale /
 that she yd speak also. And cōcernyng the becke of
 signe made with her heed / it is expōd / that they yd
 lye / either by cause they yd interprete & luge y mo-
 uig of y ymage / whā they plucked it away / to haue
 ben done of y owne astoade / or els such wantōnes / as
 they bled in demānding of askig questōns of the gods
 delle of their enemyes beig of Rome / & vanquēshed /
 the same wantōnes they bled / in sayng her to haue ma-
 de a becke of signe wī her heed. How be it Laus. doth
 nat say / that she yd make any suche signe / but onely
 he saith y / the soldiērs cryed out / that she had made a
 becke & by such a signe gūe / shewēd herself cōtēd
 to remoue / which thynges for al y good authōrs do nat
 deēde to haue be done in very dede / but they do excu-
 se y sayēges of thē / for as y same Laus. sayth / War-
 done is gūe to thē of olde antiquyte / & they are holdē
 excused / that by y mēglig of godly thynges & worlde-
 ly thynges to gether / they myght make y beginiges of
 cytes y more worshipfull. & in another place he saith /
 In thynges of olde antiquyte / if any thyng be lyke to be
 trewe. Let them be acōpted & taken for true thynges
 Terētius Marro / whiche was afore the tyme of these
 two / and conynge than either out of them / and

Titus. Laus.
 disagreeeth
 fro Valerius.
 Marcius.

Titus. Li-
 uins.

Titus. Li-
 uins.

Terenti-
 Marro.

(as

The Declamation of Lau. Ualla

The directe
historie writ-
ten by the so-
berie authours
of the pte cal-
led Lucus cur-
tius.

Libro primo
chap. xviii.

LIBRO III

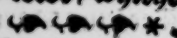
LIBRO III

LIBRO III

LIBRO III

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(as I do tinge) an authoꝝ of moꝝe graunte and aucto-
ryte: sayth that there were the diuerſe hystories writ-
ten by the diuerſe authoꝝ of the ſtoꝝeſayde Lucus
Curtius. The one hystorie is written of Dioculus/
whiche ſaith that this pꝛince of lake was called Lucus
Curtius of one Curtius whiche dyd caſt himſelfe
downe into it. The ſecond hystorie is written of Philo-
whiche ſaith that it was named ſo of Curtius Ape-
ritus the Sabine. The thirde was written of Corneli-
us (to whom the royneth Lucianus ſelowe and wit-
neſſe) whiche ſaith that it was named of Curtius ſ
conſull to whom Marcus Cennitius was ſelowe in
offyce. And verily I wyl nat diſſemble that Uale-
rius Maximus can nat be wiſely rebuked though he
dothe ſpeke ſo ſeyng that a ſpelt afterwarde he wi-
teth theſe wordes folowyng wiſely and diſcretely. I am
nat ignorant howe doubtfull the opynion is of ſ mo-
uyng & of the voyce & ſpeech of the goddes immortall/
whiche is perceyued by the ſpyght & hearyng of men.
But bicauſe no newe thynges are ſayd of vs but one-
ly thynges written in tymes paſt are reherſed agayn
of vs. Lette the authoꝝs chalenge credence to them-
ſelues. He made mention here of the voyce or ſpeech of
the goddes bicauſe of Iuno Moneta & bicauſe of ſ
ymage of the goddes Fortune whiche they do ſayne
to haue ſpoken twiſe by theſe wordes. Hute me ma-
troung viduiſſe. Hute dedicatiſ. I. In dew forme & ma-
ner you matrones haue ſene me. In dew forme and
mauer you haue dedicated me. But our forgers of
fables do hang in euer where ydols or ymages ſpe-
kyng which thyng the very paynems & worſhippers
of ydols do nat ſay but moꝝe ſyncerely & faithfully do
deny it than the chriſten men do aſſyꝛme it. Amonge
them thoſe very fewe myꝛacles that at leaue nat vn-
to the faith & credence of the authoꝝs but as it were
to a certayne ſacted and religioꝝs comendation of
auncient antiquite. But amonge ſure tale forgers/
certayn marueyles of later tyme are tolde whiche
the men of thoſe dayes neuer knewe. 
Neither do I derogate or minyſſhe the admyꝛation
and

The dedamation of Lau. Galla

and honour of sayntes/ neither do I deny the diuyn
and godly workes wrought by them / for almoche as
I do knowe/ that as moch faith as is the quantite of a
mustarde seede/ maye translate mountayns from one
place to another. y^e/ moreouer I do defende & mayn
teyne their said workes : but I ca nat suffre that they
be mengled with fables & lyes. Neither can I be bro
ught in to other belefe/ than that these writers either
were infydeles & miscreantes/ whiche dyd it to mocke
christen men/ if these fained lyes brought by gylefull
felowes in to the habes of vylearned men / shulde be
taken for true histories: or els were Christen men/ ha
uyng in dede a zeile vnto god : but nat accordyng to
knowledge (as Dauid saith) which haue nat ben afrayd
de to write/ nat only of the actes of sayntes : but also
of y^e actes of y^e Virgine goddes mother / y^e and more
ouer of the actes of Christ/ certayne Hamles and false
gospels. And y^e pope calleth these bokes Apocryphos
libros/ that is to wit/ bokes whose autho^r is nat kno
wen/ as who shulde say/ y^e it were no faute at all: that
the autho^r of them is nat knowen / & that the thynges
were beleuable / which are tolde and reherced in the
and all though they were holy thynges / & appertay
nyng to the cōfirmation and fortifyeng of our religio
and sayth / so that now there is no lesse faute in him /
which hath approued & allowed these euill thynges:
than is in him / whiche dyd fy^rst imagyne and deuise
them. We do discern/ we do disseuer the euill money
from the good/ and we do refuse it / & call it from vs.
And shall we nat discern the reprobate & false doc
tryne : but shall we retayne & kepe it styll : but shall
we mengle it with good doctryne : but shall we de
fende it for good doctryne : I verely wyl gyue my
sentence or iugement frely and boldly. I deny that the
histo^ry of Siluester is Apocryphe (y^e is to wit/ whose
authour is nat knowen) (for as I sayde before/ a cer
tayne man called Eusebius/ is sayd to be the authour
therof) but I say playnly / that it is a false histo^ry /
and nat worthy to be reorde / bothe in other thynges :
and specially in those narrations of the dragon/ of the
bull

Luke. 17

Roma. 10

It is sayde
that Eusebius
was a Christian
is the autho^r
of saint Sil
uesters lye,

The declamation of Lau. Cralla

Constantyne
was neuer
mefeld: fo as
they do faine
571,2

bull/ and of the leprie of Constantyne / for the repro-
uyng of whiche leprie / I haue rehetted thefe fo many
thynges. For all be it Naaman was a leproufe per-
fone: it foloweth nat therefore forthwith/ that Con-
stantyne alfo was full of leprie. Many authors haue ma-
de mention of Naaman/ but of Constantine / whiche
was prince and gouernour of the worlde: no man ha-
th written/ nat fo moche as any of his owne cytzens/
but onely I wot nat what people the felowe of a stra-
nge countrey to whom no more credence is to be gyue
than is to a nother certayne felowe / whiche wrote of
the waspes / that made their nestes in Clepasianus
nose / and of the frogge / of which Nero was delue-
red / as it had ben of egypte / wherof they fay / that the
place is called Laterane / or tana rot late at in scupt-
chre. / bycause the frogge is hydde there in the graue/
whiche thyng I am fure / neither the waspes / neither
the frogges felues wolde haue fayd: if they coulde ha-
ue spokt / except they do referte this to the goddes of
the capytol houle / as if they wolde fay / that thefe
goddes had ben wonte to fpeake / and had comaunded
this thyng to be done. But why shulde I meruayle
that the popes are ignorant / I haue no perceyuing
of vnderftandynge in thefe thynges: whan they be ig-
norant of their owne name: For they fay that Pe-
ter was called Cephas / bycause he was heed of the A-
postles / as who shulde fay: that this worde Cephas
were a Greke worde comyng of Cephal / whiche in
the Greke tonge be tokeneth the fame that Caput dothe
in latyne / or heed in Englyshe / and nat a worde of
the Hebrue / or rather of the Syrie tonge / whiche the
Greekes do write Ciphys / whiche amonge them is in-
terpreted Petrus / and nat caput. For bothe Petrus
and Petra are Greke wordes / and they do folysly
whiche do expounde and declare this worde Petra by
a latyne etimologie / sayeng Petra quafi pede trita.
And they do put a difference bytween Metropolitane
and Archiepiscopus / sayeng / that Metropolitane
cometh of Metron .i. mensura / a poly .i. ciuitas / so
that Metropolitane is sayd / a mensura ciuitatis. i.

The tale of
the waspes
in vespasia-
nes nose / of
the fogge
wherof Ne-
ro was delue-
red: as fals
forged tales

The exceedig
ignorance
of the popes

Cephas.

Metropo-
litanus

of the

The Denial of Latin Walls

of the meane of a spee: where as to beyn dede in the
gathe tongue they do nat say: Metropolis: but Metropo-
lis which is no more to day in the latyne tongue as
by the bilitates of the wordes: Thus they say all so: that
Pater noster is so called: because he is: as it were: pa-
terfamilias: a father of fathers: and that this word
Paterfamilias is of the first election paper: which is an
election of a man to be a father of a family: and that
it is called: Paterfamilias: quia paterfamilias: where
as in the bery dede of the wordes: it is called: paterfamilias: of
eaght opinion: And they do pronounce this word
Paterfamilias with the myde syllable shorte: whan in
the bery dede they ought: to pronounce that word with
the myde syllable longer: ayn so as they do pronounce
this word: Paterfamilias: and this word: Canon: and
many other lyke thinges: which I palle ouer: lest for
the sake of certayne: I might seeme to blame and re-
buke all popes. These thinges haue I spoke to the
tenre: that no man shulde meruaile: if many popes
coude nat espye and perceyue: that the Donatyon of
Constantine was but a fapned or forged thynge: all be it
yet: I do iuge: that this dystepte & yple was begone
and brought by first: by one of the sayde popes. But
you wyl saye: why do nat the emperours: to whose
hure this thynge dyd tourne: denye the donation of
Constantine: but graunt and knowlege it: affirme it:
and conserue or kepe it: & forsooth this is an exceeding
stronge argumente: and a wonderfull defence. for of
what emperour speakest thou: If thou doest speake
of the Greke emperour: which was the deffender
in dede: than wyl I denye that euer he confessed or
graunted the sayde donation: But if thou doest speake
of the latyne emperour: If my selfe also wyl confesse
the sayde to be true: For who is he which knoweth
nat that the latyne emperour was feely made of the
pope: Sixten (as I wene) whiche deposed and put
downe the Greke emperour: because he wolde nat
bringe helpe and ayde to: Itale: and made a latyne
emperour: so that the emperour shulde receyue mo

**Pattar
cha.**

Жаңа:

FIDES Q.
THEODORA.

An irony

Stephen the
Second trans-
lated the em-
pire from the
Greeks to the
Frenchmen.

The Declaration of Lat. Calla

The pope &
the emperor
decided the
epier between
them two
alone.

Achilles/
and Patroclus.

In decretis
distinctione
lxxii. Ego Au-
doulus. &c.

Audoulus the
emperor cal-
led lewes the
mylde.

thynges of the pope: than the pope of the emperours
doubtes / the pope & the emperour departed and de-
cided the emperours between them selves alone / by cer-
taine pactions and covenantes: mylde Achilles and
Patroclus byd deup be hye were them two alone / the
riches of the pope / which thynges / as we semeth heyn
the very wordes of Audoulus do declare. and he sayth
whan he sayth. Audoulus emperour of Rome / do
decree / and graunt by this pacte of our confirmation
to the blessed Peter prince of the apostles / and by the
to the bycare lord Paschalys being pope / and to his
succellours for evermore. (he sayth also as you have
holden them of our predecessours / in your power and
domynio / euen unto this tyme) the cyte of Rome / with
the dute dome belongyng to it / and all places within
the precincts of the sayd cyte / and all villages / stre-
tes / territories belongyng to it / both in the mountayns
and in the see costes / hauens / or al cyties / castels / tow-
nes / and byllages / in the parties of Thustab &c.
Audoulus do you make pactes / covenantes / or bar-
gaines with Paschalys the pope / if these aforesayd
thynges be yours / that is to saye / if they do appertay-
ne to the emperour of Rome: why do you graunt and
gyue them to another: if they be his and be possessed
of him: what nedeth you to confirme them: Agayne
how lytell of the Romayne emperour shall be yours: if
you haue lost: & very heed and chere cyte of the emperour
The Romayne emperour hathe his name of Rome.
Moreouer the residue which you haue in possession
are they yours: or do they belonge to Paschalys: I
suppose / you wyl say that they are your owne. Tha
it foloweth / that the donation of Constantine is of no
strength / seig that you haue in your possession those
thynges / which were gyuen by him to the pope. If it
be of strength: by what righte doche Paschalys re-
mitte or release the other thynges to you: retaynyng
to him selfe onely those thynges / which he hath in pos-
session: Is this it that is meened by so great largy-
tion of the Romayne emperour / of you towarde him:
or of him towarde you: Tha do you worthely / and
nat

In decretis
distinctione
lxxii. Ego Au-
doulus. &c.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

nat without a cause / call it a parte / that is as a man wolde say / a certayne collusio of false packig bytween you two. But peradventure you wyll say to me / what shall I do? Shall I go about to recouer by warre / those thynges whiche the pope violently & wrongfully holdeth fro me? That shulde nothige auayle me / for he is of more mighte & power than I am myselfe. Shal I make clayme & tittle to the / by right and lawe? That coulde nat helpe / for my right is no more: but euen so much / as it shall please hi to graunt me. For I came nat to the epiet by the waye of inheritaunce: but onely by pacte and couenaunte / that if I wolde be emperour: I shulde promyse suche and such thinges / to the pope agayne of my parte. Shal I say / that Constantine gaue no whittle at all of the empiet? If I dyd so: I shulde defende the cause of the Greke emperour / and put my selfe cleene from all the dygnite of the empiet. For the pope saythe / that he maketh me emperour vpon this condycion: that I shulde be as a certayne bytace or deputie vnder hi / and excepte that I wyll promyse for to be: he wyll nat make me emperour. And excepte that I wyll obeye him accordyng to my promyse: he sayeth / that he wyll depose me agayne. So that he wyll gyue these thynges to me: I wyll cofesse and knowlege all thynges / I wyll promyse and couenaunte with hym / what so euer thynges he shall requyre of me. But yet beleue me / if I had Rome & the Churche in my possession / nat onely I wolde nat than do as I do now: but also it shulde be labours all in vayne / for Balchalis to tell me that tale of the donatyon of Constantine / whiche as I denie / is falsly forged. But now I do graunt and gyue those thinges / which neither I haue in my possession: neither do hope that euer I shall haue. To enquire and make serche of the popes right: that appertayneth nat to me / but to the emperour of Constantinople. Now Ludouike you haue excused your selfe to me sufficiently / & what soeuer other epietour is lyke to Ludouike. What ought to be demed of & pacition & promise made bytween other emperours & the po-

The pope is stronger in his title than the emperour.

The pope hath made emperours vpon certayne condicions & couenantes.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Sigismunde
the emperour
brought i his
extreme age/
to excoyng
get pouerte.

Hopes do no
thyngs for
nought.

Sigismunde
ere he coude
be crowned at
Rome / was
fayne to con-
fyrme the da-
nation of Co-
stantine.

Marke well
this geare /
howe well it
standeth wge
ther.

The corona-
tion of them-
perour ought
to appertay-
ne to the peo-
ple of Rome
which now
the pope cha-
lengereth to hi
selfe onely.

He is no very
emperoure / &
also he is for-
sworne: that
goeth nat a-
bout to reco-
uer the cite of
Rome / from
the pope.

pes: whan we do know so euerydeily / what Sigismu-
dus hath done / which verily at all other tymes / & in
all other poyntes / was the best & most valpante price:
but now in extreme age / nat so hardy & valyant as he
was befoze / whom we haue our selues sene / haupnge
but a fewe seruauntes o: a small garde about hym / to
wander throug Italy / knowyng nat this day / howe
o: where to haue his dyner to morowe / & lyke wise to
haue ben famished at Rome / if Eugenius had nat gi-
uen him fode / but nat for nought / for he extorted a do-
nation of him. This Sigismundus / whan he was
comen to Rome for to be crowned there / thempour of
the romains / he coude nat be crowned by any meanes
of p pope / but onely vpo this conditon / that he shulde
alow & confyrme the donation of Constantine / & gyue
and graut the same thiges now agayne a frechly. what
thinge is moze repugnaunt & contrary / than p he shulde
be crowned eperour of Rome: whiche had renouced
& gyuen from hi selfe p cyte of Rome. & p he shuld
be crowned of hym: whoboth him selfe both coselle &
knowlege / & also as moch as lyeth in hi / he doth ma-
ke lorde of the Romaie emperie: and p he shulde alow
& confyrme p donation of Constantine which if it were
true: nothig at all of the emperie shulde be lefte o: re-
mayne to the emperour: which thige / as I suppose
and iuge: nat very chyldre wolde haue done. Wher-
foze it is so moche lesse meruayle / if the pope do cha-
lenge & take vpon hi the coronation of the eperour: whi-
che ought to appertayne vnto p people of Rome. If thou
O pope / both arte able to depriue the Greke eperour:
of Italy & of the prouinces of the West. And doest also
make p latyne eperour: Why vbest thou such pactios /
promyses / and couenautes: Why doest thou parte &
deuyde p goodes of Cesar: Why doest thou traslate
the eperie vnto thy selfe: wherfoze let him know / who
so euer is eperour of Rome: that in my iugemet he is
neither Augustus / neither Cesar / neither emperour:
excepte he do holde & kepe the eperie & gouernaunce of
Rome / & excepte he do gyue dylgence / & enforxe hi self
to recouer the cytie of Rome: that he is periured and
for

The Declamation of Lau. Galla

forſworne. For the emperours in olde tyme / of whom
 Constantine was the fyrſt : were nat conſtrayned to
 make any ſuch ſolempne othe / wherewith now adates
 our emperours are bounden. but onely / that / as moſt
 che as might be done by mannes power : they ſhulde
 minyſſhe nothinge of the amplytude and maiesty of
 the emper of Rome. but that with all their labour
 and dygence they ſhulde augmente and increace it.
 yet were they nat therfore called Auguſti / or imperiū
 augere deberent .i. for that they ought to augmente
 the emper (as the opinion of ſome men is / whiche
 are miſkylled in the latyne tonge) But Auguſtus is
 as moch to ſay / as Sacer / holy or worſhipfulle and
 it is ſaid Ab auilum guſtu .i. of the taſtyng or eating
 of the byrdes . whiche thyng was greatly obſerued /
 marked / and taken hede of in the olde tyme : whan
 they wolde dryue of the lucke that ſhulde folow any
 earneſt thinge that they toke in hande / and therfore
 where the latyne men do ſaye Auguſtus : the Grekes
 do ſay Σεβαςτος .i. Venerāduſ or honorabilis. The
 pope might better be called Auguſtus ab augendo .i.
 of increaſing or augmenting : ſure onely / that why
 les he increaſeth tempōrall thyges / he minyſſeth the
 ſpūall thyges . And therfore may you ſe / that as e
 uery pope was moſt vicious and worſt diſpoſed : ſo
 he gaue him ſelfe moſt to the deſeinding of this dona
 tion. of which ſorte / Boniface the ryght was : why
 che deceyued Celeſtyne by trumpes putte within the
 wall. This Bonifacius alſo writeth of the donatiō
 of Constantine. and he depriued or depoled the king
 of Fraunce. and lugged the kyngedome of Fraunce
 (as if he wolde haue put the ſayd donatiō in execu
 tion) to haue ben / and to be ſubiecte to the church of
 Rome : which thyng / as being leide a gainſt right
 ſhortly after his ſuccelours Benedicte and Clemēt
 did reuoke. But what meaneth this your carefull di
 lygence / O you popes of Rome / that you do requyre
 of euery emperour the confirmation of the ſayde do
 nation of Constantine : but that you put diffydence
 and diſtruſt in your ryght & tyele . But you labour

The emper
 in olde tyme/
 wer nat ſworn
 ne ſolempne
 ly to the pope
 as they are
 now a dayes

what Auguſ
 tus ſignificeth
 & why the em
 perours were
 called Auguſ
 ti.

Auguſt?

how the pope
 might be cal
 led Auguſtus

The worſt po
 pe / did moſte
 deſeide the do
 nation of Co
 ſtantine.

Nota.

Boniface the
 viii. an vni
 gratiouſe & a
 myſcheuouſe
 pope / & al ſet
 vpon worldly
 pryde : had a
 myſcheuouſe
 ede as the cro
 nicles do telly
 ſyc.

Bened. 12
 Clement
 pope.

L. iii. all in

The Declaration of Lau. Walla

all in hayne: for there was neuer any suche donatiō
 & that thige whiche is nat: can nat be confirmed. And
 what so euer thiges p̄ emperours do gʒue oʒ graūte:
 they do it/ beig dysceyued & begged through p̄ enſa-
 ple of Cōſtantine. And they can in no wiſe gʒue from
 them p̄ emper. & But go to now / let vs graūt: that
 Cōſtantine dyd gʒue thē / & that. Silueſter had ones
 the poſſellʒo of them: but afterwardeſ p̄ eithen betwix
 els ſome other pope / was dʒuē out from p̄ poſſellion
 of thē (I ſpeke now of thoſe thiges / wherof a pope
 hath nat poſſellio. And afterwardeſ I wyl ſpeake of
 thoſe thiges alſo / whiche he hath in poſſellion). What
 can I do more for you: than to graūte you / that thoſe
 thiges haue bē: which neuer were / neither euer coul-
 de be: yet nat withſtāding / I do ſay / that you can nat
 plede for p̄ recouery of thē: neither by goddeſ lawe /
 neither by māneſ lawe. In p̄ olde lawe / it was foʒ-
 byddē / that one hebrue ſhulde be hōde to another he-
 brue / aboue p̄ ſpace of ſyʒ yeres / & at euer ſifteth yere
 which was called Jubileus: all thiges retourned a-
 gaine to their olde maſter & owner. And ſhall now
 in p̄ tyme of grace / a chʒiſtē man be oppreſſed / & kept
 under with p̄petuall: & etetnall bōdage: of him / that
 is p̄ bycare of Chʒiſt / whiche hath redemed vs from
 bōdage: What ſhal I ſay: ſhall he be called againe to
 bōdage: after p̄ he hath bē made free / & after p̄ he hath
 of longe ſeaſon optayned & enioyed lyberty & fredōe:
 I wyl nat ſpeake here / how ſharpe / how cruel / how
 paſſig greate / how farre frō all humanite & good ma-
 ner / the donatiō of p̄reſtes is of tyme / which thige /
 if it were nat knowne before: was knowne of late tyme
 by p̄ monſtre John Witteſcote cardinall & patriarke
 which hath made wery p̄ ſwerde of Deter / wherwith
 he dyd cut of Haldus his eare: ſu chaiter manneſ
 blode / & was ſlayne hi ſelfe afterwardeſ with p̄ ſame
 ſwerde. It was laifull for the people of Iſraell / by
 cauſe they were to ſore chaʒged & overladē with to
 heavy burthens: to ſhake ago away from p̄ houſe of
 Dauid & Salomō / nat withſtāding p̄ the p̄ two had bē
 anopated kiges by p̄ propheteſ / whom god had ſete /

That the po-
 pe cā neither
 by goddeſ
 lawe nor mā-
 neſ lawe / ma-
 ke clayme a-
 gayne to the
 chʒynges whe-
 reof he hathe
 ſtande to lon-
 ge tyme diſ-
 poſſellid: all
 though it we-
 re ſo / that do-
 th Cōſtanti-
 neſ donatiō
 and Silueſ-
 terſ accepta-
 tion had ben
 true / matter I
 dede.

Exod. 21.

Leuit. 25.

The domi-
 on of p̄reſtes
 is intolerable.
 John Witteſ-
 cote cardinall
 & patriarke
 & well bloode
 Cheder.

3. Regū 12

and

The declamation of Lau. Walla

and god byd alow them in so doing. And shall it nat
 belausfull for vs / bycause of so great tyranny / to go
 from them / & to refuse the gouernaunce of them: which
 neither are kiges / neither may be kinges / & whiche of
 pastours & feders of shepe (that is to wit / of soules)
 are become robbers & theues : And now to speake of
 the lawe of man / who is he / but he knoweth / that the
 lawe of right of batayle is no right of law at al / or if
 it be any right of lawe : that it is so longe of stréngth /
 as thou hast in possessiō those thiges / which thou did
 best wine of get with batayle / & no longer . For whan
 thou ledest possession : fare well þ right of tytle also .
 Therfore / if they which haue be taken prysoners / do
 rōne away or make escape : no man is wonte to make
 clayme to the agayne / afore a iuge / neither yet to the
 prayes taken in warre : if þ olde owners or maisters
 of them haue gotten them agayne . Bees / & certayn
 other kindes of birdes / as haukes / if they be flown
 any thige farre away out of my own seuerall groude
 and haue rested in another mānes groude : I can nat
 clayme the agayne for myne . And wylt thou clayme
 & chalége men (whiche are nat onely a free creature /
 but also lordē ouer all other creatures) after þ by hā
 de & force of armes they haue restored the selues into
 lyberty : Wylt thou (I say) chalége them agayne for
 thyn / nat by might of hāde & by batayle : but by lawe
 as if thou alone were a man / & they were nothige els
 but brute beestes . Neither shall it helpe or aueyle the
 to say that the romayns rightfully made warre vpon
 other nations / & that rightfully they depriued the of
 their lyberty . Do nat call or prouoke me to the dispu
 tation of that question / lest I be compelled to say some
 what against my countrey men þ romayns . How be
 it the nations coulde nat comyte so greuous / or so
 haynouse an offence or cryme : wherfore they shulde
 deserue eternall seruitude and bondage . Besydes this
 offence the fault was in þ price or some other gret
 eiteyn in the comynwele / þ the peoples made warre /
 and therfore they which they were ouercomen / were vn
 worthily punished with seruitude & bondage . Ex
 ample

Wherof her
 des men: are
 become rob
 bers and the
 ues.

The lawe of
 batayle.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

It is agaynst
humanite and
contrary to the
nature of mā
to exerce vī
olente rule o
uer other of
his owne kin
de:

amples wherof we may fynde euery where. Neither
it is ordayned by the lawe of nature / that one people
shuld subdue & make subiect another people to it self.
We may counsaile & teche / & exhort other men / but we
may nat play wth lordes ouer thē / & do byolēce to them:
excepte we wyll renouce & forsake all humanite / and
cōterfayte & folow wth moste ferce & cruel bestes / whi-
che done exerceple a cruell & a bloody empier vpon the
weaker bestes / & those which are of lesse might and
strēgth. as the lyon / ouer four footed bestes / the egle
ouer fowles of the ayer / & the Dolphyn ouer fyshes.
But yet for all this / these afore rehersted bestes / do
nat chalenge or vsurpe any power ouer the bestes of
their owne kynde: but onely vpon those w^{ch} be of other
lower kyndes / how moche moze than ought we to do
so: & one man to haue regarde & reuerence to another
man / seying wth (as Maister Fabius sayd) there liueth
none so wode a beest vpon erthe : but he dothe regarde
his owne Image / & doth auoyde the hurtyng therof.

**Maister
Fabius.**

**Four causes
wherfor war-
res are made
moste commu-
nely.**

There is therfore .iiii. causes / wherfor most cōmely
warres & batayles are made / either it is for to reuēge
inturpes or wronges / & to defende our frendes / or els
it is for feare of calamite / w^{ch} we shal receyue afterwar-
des: if the strēgth & might or power of other / were suf-
fred to growe & increse / or els it is for w^{ch} hope of praye /
or els for the desyre of glozpe & renowne / of the which
four causes / the fyrst is somewhat honeste / the secōd
but lytle honeste / the two last are in no wyse honeste.
And in very dede warres haue bene made oft tymes
agaynst the Romayns. but after they had defended
thēselues they made warre both vpon them & other na-
tions. Neither is there any nation or people / which
hath geue place / & be obediēt to their dominio: except
they were vainqueshed and subdued by batayle / how
well and how rightfully / or for what cause : aulse thē
selues / for I wyll nat neither condemne them / as if
they haue fought wrongfully: neither asloyle or quite
theym / as if they haue fought ryghtfully. This
onely I wyll saye : that by the same reason / and for
the same cause / the Romayns made warre vpon other
nations

The declamation of Lau. Gallia

nations : by whiche reason / and for the whiche cause /
other kinges & peoples dyd . And that it was lauffull
for them / vpon whom warre was be gonne / and whi-
che were baiqueshed or ouercome by bataile / to haue
gone from the Romaynes / and to haue forsaken the :
euyn so as they had done from other lordes / whiche
had subdued them . Lest peraduenture (which thing
no man wolde say) all the emperers might be broughe
agayne to those most aunciente lordes of the olde ty-
me : whiche were fyrst lordes / that is to saye / whiche
first toke away other mennes lades and goodes . And
yet is there better right to the people of Rome in the
nations conquered by batayle : than is to the emper-
ours / opprellynge the comune weale . Wherefore if it
was lauffull for nations & peoples to shrinke or go a-
waye from Constantine / and (which is a gretter thig)
from the people of Rome : without any doute / it shal
be lauffull for them / to refuse and forsake him for their
gouernour : to whom so euer Constantine hath gyue
and released his right & tytle . And that I may speke
more boldely / if it was lauffull for the Romaynes / ei-
ther to depose or dylue out Constantine / so as they did
Tarquyne : or els to kyll him / so as they dyd Iulius
Cesar : moche more it shal be lauffull for the Romaynes
or the prouinces / to kyll him : whiche is succeeded (so
as it is) in to the roume / and stede of Constantyne .
This thing / albeit that it is true : yet is it beyonde
the bondes of my cause or mater . And therfore I wil
refrayne and rule or measure my selfe . and I will in-
ferre or conclude none other thig at this tyme of these
thinges afoze reherced : but only / that it is peuisshnes
or madnesse / where the vyolence or force or armes
is : there any man to allege or bryge in þ right or tytle
of wordes (for þ same thig which is gottē or wōnē w
warre : is also lost agayne w batayle) & that by so mo-
che the more / seing that other straunge nations (as
we haue herde say of þ gothes) whiche were neuer vn-
der thempier of Rome : haue wonne Italy / and many
prouices / and entred vpo them / dreyng out the olde
inhabytantes / which now to be called agayne into þ
seruy

Carquin the
proude the la-
ste kynge of
the Romains
of Iulius Ce-
sar. Rede sue-
tonius in the
lyfe of hym.

The Declamation of Lau. Walla

seruitude / i which they were neuer before: what right
 oꝛ equyte (I beseeche you) is it: namely these natyōs
 which haue cōquered into the seruitude of them / per-
 aduēture: which haue ben cōquered: At which tyme
 if any cyties & nations / as we knowe it to haue ben
 done in very dede / beyng destituted & forsaken of the
 emperour of Rome / were cōstrayned / at the cōmyng
 of the Barbarous pope / of necolypse / to chuse a king
 to the selues / vnder whose gouernaūce they haue got-
 ten the vyctory: shulde they after wardes depose him
 from his kigedome: oꝛ shulde they be wyllyng & desyre
 to haue his sonnes lyue priuate / without any rule oꝛ
 auctorite (which are woꝛthy to be fauoured / both for
 their fathers sake / & also for their own vertue & man-
 lynes) that their selues might be agayne vnder y^e em-
 perour of Rome: namely whan their selues shulde
 cōtynually neede the labour & dyligence of them: and
 shulde nat hope to haue helpe oꝛ ayde frō any where
 els: If Cesar him self / oꝛ Constantine / if he were aly-
 ue agayne / oꝛ also the senate and the people of Rome
 wolde call the mater to the cōmune iugemēt / such as
 was some tyme the iugement of the Amphictions in
 Grece lande: he shulde be put backe / & cast forth with
 at the fyrst action: For that he dyd demaūde & clayme
 agayne in to the seruyte & bondage / those men whom
 he being their gouernoure / had forsaken long tyns /
 and which had lyued so longe season vnder another
 prync & gouernour / and which neuer had ben subiects
 to a kinge of another countrey / & which fynally were
 men borne to lybertie / & which were restored in to ly-
 bertie / by the strength & valyaūtnes bothe of mynde &
 body. So that it may euidently appere / if Cesar / if
 the people of Rome / be excluded frō claymyng them a-
 gayne in to subiectiōs & seruitude: moche moze than
 the pope is excluded frō makinge suche clayme. And if
 it be lausfull for other nations / which were vnder Ro-
 me / either to create & make a kinge ouer them selues
 oꝛ to kepe & holde a cōmune welth: moche moze it is
 lausfull for the people of Rome to do the same thing /
 namely & agaynst y^e new & straūg tyrāny of y^e pope.

The

Rebe the pro-
 uerbe Amphicti-
 ones.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

Uncharythiprincipall parte of the last of this worke / I
wiche it is shewed / ycht pope can nat make any p
scription on those thyges which he possesseth howe so
ouer longe tyme he hath had them in his possession :

Now for as much as our adversaries are now excluded fro

And despoynng of the donat ion of Constantine / in as
much as there was never any suche donat ion made /
and though there had ben / it shuld nowe have ben
deadethrough the conditi on and state of tymes : they
do combe to another hynde of defence : as you wolde
say / for sayng the cpte : they gette them selues into a
castell of forcel age / which forsh with they shall be co
pelled to yelde up : because their wyrgles shall saye
them :

The church of Rome (they saye) hath made
prescripti on in those thyges : which it possesseth. Why
hath than the sayde church requyre a dayme againe
those thyges (which is the greater parte) in whiche
it selfe hath nat made prescripti on : as in which other
men hath prescribed : excepte it be nat lawfull for o
ther men / to do the same thyng to the pope : whiche
it is lawfull for him / to do to other men. The church
of Rome (you say) hath prescribed : Why dothe she
than gyve so greatly care and diligence / to have her
ryght & ttle so ofte cōfirmed of the emperours : why
doth the sayde church than bothe the donat ion / and the
confirmat ion of the emperours : if this thyng alone
(that is to wit / prescripti on) were sufficient. Thou
doest injury to it : if thou doest nat bepeyence of the
other ryght or ttle also. Why doest thou nat than be
peyence of the one : Merely / because this alone is
nat sufficient. Thou sayest the church of Rome hath p
scribed : How can the church of Rome have made prescrip
ti on : wher ther is none eydwice or certēte of any r
ttle / but onely a false & vniust possession : or els if thou
doest denye it it is a vniust possession and of yuell faith /
for sooth you can nat deny it to have ben a possession of
folke of the faith or of re dēce. Dought the ignorance / as they
call it / facti et furis to be holden excused ifo gret a ma
tere as so open & manifest / the ignorance of the dede / I call
nat

prescripti
on

prescripti
on is / when any
ma hath had
possession of
house or land
des so longe
tyme as any
man aloue ca
remember / as
by the space
of an. c. yeres
or more :

Malaxi
dei posses
sio.
Stultus fi
dei posses
sio.

Ignoran
tia facit.

quid

nat

The declamation of Iulius Cæsar

Ignoran-
tia Iuris

And thus he
saith to the
people of
Rome
that he
hath
been
made
a
prisoner
of
the
Barbarians
and
that
he
hath
been
made
a
prisoner
of
the
Barbarians
and
that
he
hath
been
made
a
prisoner
of
the
Barbarians

Nota.

And thus he
saith to the
people of
Rome
that he
hath
been
made
a
prisoner
of
the
Barbarians
and
that
he
hath
been
made
a
prisoner
of
the
Barbarians
and
that
he
hath
been
made
a
prisoner
of
the
Barbarians

nat to knowe that Cæsar me dynter byde some
a the prouinces / where so he is ignorant is a poore
of an wyse & vnlearned man / nat of a pope / Ig-
norant of the right / I saye / nat so / nat that
those thynges could be gyuen of the one parte:
neither be receyued of the other / nat that he
ignorant of the point of him that he is a Chri-
sten man / nat that the folowynge credence of the
nes of gyuing credence / cause the to have right and
tytle in those thynges : which if thou haddest ben so
fer / shoulde neuer haue ben thyne / What / nat
thou nat nothe at the least wylle lose that right / tytle
(if thou haddest any at al) / seing that I haue declared
to playnly / that it was longe of ignorance / folowyn-
nes that thou dydest possesse them / And what thyng
whiche ignorance laudly and so angfully hath gyue
to the : shall nat knowlege well and rightfully take
agayn / I saye a way fro the : And shall nat the blynde
man or prentice retourne agayn from the vniuersal lo-
de to the right master / pe peradventure euen with
the frute and profyte whiche thou hast taken / by the
occuppynge and bysnyng of hym / For if thou dost con-
tynue & holde on to possesse them yet styll : now thyne
ignorance is turned into malice & fraude or gyle /
and thou arte playnly and vtterly made (as they call
it in latyne tonge) / Mala fidei possessor / that is to
say / a possessor of euyl faith / in as moch as thou know-
west / he had no right to gyue those thynges / which
thou possessest / nor whom thou dydest receyue them.
you dyd say / that the church of Rome hath prescribed
the vnlearned soles / O you ignorant persons & bar-
skylled of goddes lawe / no nombre of peters / be it
neuer so great / can abolysh the or wipe away the true
and iust tytle / In cause it were so / that I had ben ta-
ken prisoner of the Barbarians / and had ben suppo-
sed verely to haue ben dreed / if now after an honest
peres in which I had ben prisoner / I dyd retourne
agayne in to myne owne countrey : shall I be ex-
cluded therfore from claymynge / and makynge tytle to the
inheritaunce / which my father hath lefte me / what
thyng

The Declamation of Laila Blalla

thinge can be more cruell / and more contrary to all
maner than this. And to bringe you some example.

Whan the chyldre of sones of Ammon / dyd requyre
and clayme agayne the lande / from the costes of bor-
ders of Arnon eyn dwel Jabuc / and vnto the ryuer
Jordan: dyd Iepthe the captayne of Israell make
answere in this wyse to them. The israelytes haue

prescribed now by the space of thre hundred yeres: or
dyd he shewethat the lade which they claymed: had
neuer ben possessed of them / but of the Amorreanes /
and that this was an euidente argument or profe /
that the sayde lande dyd nat belonge to the Ammoni-
tes: seying that within the copasse of so many yeres /
they had netther claymed nor demaunded it agayne.

The church of Rome hath prescribed. Holde thy
peace withed & mischeuouse tongue. Thou doest tran-
slate prescription / whiche is made onely of dounbe
thinges and vnreasonable: vnto man / whom by how
much the longer they haue possessed in scrypture and
bondage: so much the more detestable their possessiō

is. Bydes / and wyld beestes / wyl nat that they
prescriptyon be made vpon them selues. but how so
euer longe tyme they haue ben had in possessiō yet
whan they lyf / and occasiō shall be offered to them:

they do go away. and shall it nat be lawfull for a man
of whom another man hath had the possessiō: lyke
wyse to go away from him / as the birde or wyld beest
dothe. Herken nowe a thyng / whereby the fraude or
gyle of popes / rather than the ignorance of theyn

may appere. which done ble to be tryed and iudged by
warre and batayle: and nat by right and lawe. And
I suppose verily / that the first popes in takyng pos-
sessiō / and entryng vpon the cyte of Rome / and the
other townes / dyd in much lyke maner facio. I lytel
before I was bozne (I take recorde of them / whiche

were presente and do remembre it well ynough) Rome
toke or receyved the emptier rule / and gouernance / of
rather the tyrāny of the pope / where long afore that
tyme / it had ben free: by a straunge kynde of fraude
or gyle / such as hath nat ben herde of her afore. The

¶

pope

prescription
is made only
of dumble
& unreasonable
thynges.

Popes will
trye their ry-
ght by warre
& nat by the
lawe.

¶

The Declamation of Lau. Talla

The fraude & craft of pope Boniface the
ix. nat inferi
our inwiche
nes to Boni
face the viii.

pope at the tyme of whom I do speke: was Boniface the nyth / pere a regall to Boniface p̄ eyght / in fraude & in name / if it be so that they are to be called Bont-faci: that is to say good doers: Qui pessime faciūt / that is to saye / whiche are most euill & wyode doers.

And whan the Romayns / after p̄ they had perceyued the fraude & gyle / were angry in their myndes / & discontente amōge them selues: Boniface p̄ pope / after Tarquin the maner of Tarquin⁹ stroke of all the highest hedges of p̄ popies or chesseboulis with a rodde or wāde so cauled he the hedges of them to be stricken of / which were of most might & power. which thyng / whā Innocēcius / which succeeded wolde haue counterfayted and folowed: he was driuen or chased out of the cyte.

I popie & se
mely acte / for
a pope to do.

Innocentius
the vii. was
driuen out of
Rome.

Eugenius the
iiii. of that na
me was faine
to dysgyse hi
selfe in a mon
kes coule / so
to take the
water of Ty
ber / the Ro
mayns cho
tyng & thro
wyng stones
after him.

Titus Fla
minius.

Titus Fla
minius.

I wyl nat speke of other popes / which haue alwayes holden Rome oppressed by vyolence & force of armes. Albeit / as ofte as it myght: it hath alwayes rebelled / as for yeres ago / whā it coulde nat optayn peace of Eugenius / neither the enemies had peace / whiche dyd besege it: it selfe also beseged p̄ pope within his owne house / & wolde nat suffice him to go from thence afore that either he dyd make peace with p̄ enemies: or els wolde remitte and releafe the administration & gouernaunce of the cyte to p̄ citizens / But he chose rather to forsake the cyte / dysgylyng him selfe in the habite or wede of another man / & hauyng but one to mapte vpon him: than to do pleasure to the citizens / which desired nothyng of him / but suche thynges as were agreable to ryght & equite / which if they were put to free choyse: who doth not know / but that they wolde chose rather lybertie / than thraldome & bondage. It pleaseth me to deme & iuge the same of other cities: which be retayned and holden in scrutide of the pope / by whom they ought to haue ben deliuered fro thraldome. It were to longe a thyng to reherce howe many cities p̄ people of Rome hath made free: which they dyd wyne & take of their enemies / in so moch that Titus Flaminus dyd bydde or wll all Grece lāde which had ben in subiectiō vnder Antiochus: to be free / & to v̄le their owne lawes. But the pope / as we may

The dedamation of Lau. Walla

may euydently se) lyeth in wayte all þe euer he can: to begyle peoples / & to spoyle the of their lyberty. And therefore they lykewyle agayne of their parte / when they haue oportunityon offered: do rebell (take exaple her of euen nows of Bonony) whiche if at any tyme / of their owne accorde / which thing is possyble ynough to haue chauced) & with good wyll / they dyd cōsente to the papale emptier / by the reason of some great ierperdy þe was to wardes them / & nere at hande from nether outnations & people: it is nat yet so to be vnderstāded & taken / that they dyd cōsente to make theselues bōdmen / so þe they myght neuer withdraue their neckes from vnder the yoke / & so that they also: whiche shulde be bozne after wardes: shulde nat be at lyberty / neither haue any power ouer their owne selues for this were ouer moch agaynst right & reason. We come to the / O pope / of oure owne free wylls: that thou shuldest gouerne vs. Now agayne of our owne free wylls / we do go fro the & forsake the / that thou shuldest gouerne vs no lenger. If thou thynke that we be any thyng in thy derte: let accompte be made of suche thynges as haue ben gyuen & receyued / both of thy parte & of ours. But thou wylte gouerne vs spite of our tethe / & whether we will or no / as though we were wardes / or chyldren vnder full age. and yet peraduenture we coulde gouerne the more wysely: thā thou cānest gouerne vs. Besydes this / many iniuries and great wronges are done verye oftymes to this cytye: by the and thyne heed officers / we take god to recorde / Iniurye constrayneth vs to rebelle / & to go from the: as it dyd cause the chyldre of Israell in olde tyme to rebelle agaynst Roboam. And what so great iniurie / or how great a porcion of our calamite was that / I meane to pay to sore or greuousse tributes: For what if thou do euacuate / empouerishe & cōsume the substance of our cōmune weale? Thou hast done so / what if thou dost spoyle or robbe churches? Thou hast spoyled the / what if thou dost defloure virgyns & defyle wyues? Thou hast done it w^out fayle / what if thou dost embzue the cytie with the blode of þe cytyzens

The pope strideth as moche as he can to byngne all men into bondage & thraldome.

3. Regū. 12.

The Romais haue farre gretter cause / to rebelle agaynst the pope: than the Israelites had agaynst Roboam.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

zens causig them to make batayle & warre amog the
 selfe / one with another : Thou hast nat sayled to do
 so . Dught we to sultre thole thiges : orels rather / ser
 yng that thou hast cealled to be a fader to vs : shal we
 also forget / & we be thy sones : This people called &
 to them & chose the pope / for to be a fathcr . or (if this
 do please & delyte & moze) to be a lord or gouernour
 vnto the / nat to be an enemy & a tyrannouse murderer
 of them . And thou wilt nat play & father or the lord &
 gouernour : but & enemy & the tourmentour . We / albe
 it & we myght rightfully folowe & ensaple of thy cru
 elte & impiete / cōsidering & extreme iniuries whiche
 thou doest to vs : yet & nat withstādig / for as moch as
 we be christen men / we wyll nat . Neither wyll we be
 reuēged vpon the with & swerde / takig thy lyfe from
 the : but onely disposig the / we wyll chose to vs ano
 ther father or lord . The sones may fle or rōne away
 from thcir parētes / of whō they were begottē : if the
 sayde parētes be euyl & cruell . And shal it nat be lau
 full for vs to fle frō the : whiche art nat our very & na
 turall father / but onely a father adoptyue & by electiō
 (for & it pleaseth vs to chose & call & ther vnto) & whi
 che doest intreate vs in the worst & most cruell maner
 & facyon . And medle thou / & take thou care for the or
 dyng of such thiges / which do belonge to & offyce of
 a preest : & be nat in hide or wyll / to buyde the a seate
 in the north . and from thence to thūdre & throw forth the
 flaming lyghtenig / vpon this people / & other . But
 what nedeth me to make any mo wordes in this thig /
 which is most open & euident : I say playnly to abyde
 by it / nat only & Constantine neuer gaue so great thin
 ges / nat onely & the pope of Rome coulde nat prescrib
 be in & same thiges : but also in case that the one had
 gyuen / & the other had prescribed : yet that nothyng
 withstāding / I saye / that boche these right / or tyties
 are lost & destroyed / through & abhomynable offēces
 & crymes of & possessours . For as moch as we do se /
 that & calamite / decaye / & rutine / or destruction of al
 Italy / & of many prouices : hathen flowen out of this
 one fountayne & spryge alone . If the fountayne be bitter
 in it selfe : the riuer or streame / that cometh from it /

Elase 14.

The fountai
 ne / and origi
 nall cause of
 the ruine and
 decaye of Ita
 ly.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

must nedes also be bitter/ if the roote be vnclene & poisoned: & bꝛaūches must nedes be lyke wyle poisoned. **Jacobi. 3.**
 So contrary wyle agayn/ if & ryuer oꝝ streame be bitter: & fountayne oꝝ springe is to be stopped by/ if the bꝛaūches be vnclene & vnholysome: the saute cometh fro the roote. *Si missa sacra non est delibatio quocq; abominanda est.* May we bryge forth & allege & dñation of the papale power foꝝ right & lawe: which we do se to be & cause of so great synes / & of so great mischeuouse euylles / of all kindes & sortes / wherfore I do say / & also do cry out with loude voyce (toꝝ I wyl nat feare men: putting my confydence & truſte in god: **Psal. 117**
 that there hath ben no pope in my tyme/ which in his pope dome hath ben either a faythfull oꝝ a wyle dyspessatur / & which also nat only hath nat giuen meate & bꝛede to the household seruaūtes of god: but also hath deuoured the. **Mat. 23. Luca. 12.**
 The pope both him selfe maketh warre vpon people/ which are in quietnes & peace/ & also soweth debates & strifes betwen cities & pꝛices. The pope bothe thursteth oꝝ greedily despyeth the ryches oꝝ goodes of other men: & supbeth of his own (beyng as Achilles sayd agaynst Agamēon) a kige/ the deuourer of the peoples substaūce. The pope nat only selleth & getteth lucre & aduantage by & cōmune weale/ which thig neither Herres/ neither Catilines/ neither any other robber of & cōmune weale/ wolde haue ben hardy oꝝ bolde to do: but also he selleth & sacramētes & the offyces of the church. ye / & the holy ghoſt also / which thige / & Symon & iuchaitour doth detestate & despye. And whan he is admonysht of these thiges & rebuked therfore of certayn good mē: he doth nat deny these thiges/ but opely cōfelleth & knowlegeth the/ ye/ & also boasteth & reioysseth therof/ sayeng & it is laudfull foꝝ hī/ by all maner wayes & meanes / to extorte & wrest out & patrimony of & church/ which was gꝛuē by Cōstāntine: fro the hādes of the / which biolētly do holde it in theyꝝ possession. As who shulde say/ that if that were recouered & gotten agayn: & than the chꝛisten religion shulde be blessed and happy/ and nat rather more oppressed & ouerwhelmed with all synnes/ **M. iii.** tyotous

Psal. 117

Mat. 23. Luca. 12.

The pope soweth the seeds of discorde & debate.

Are nat these very apokold call vertues.

The pope sellet all thynges/ the cōmune weale/ the sacramentes/ the ecclesiastical offyces / ye/ & the holy ghoſt to / foꝝ money.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

The goodes/
which the po-
pe getteth sin-
fully / and vn-
gratioufly: he
spendeth mo-
re vngration-
flye wickedly

ryptous supfluites / & lechery (if it be possible to be more oppreſſed : than it is . & that there ſhall be place leſſe for mo miſcheuouſe ſines: than are alredy . Therfore / for the reconeryng & winyng agayn of the other meñbes & partes of the donaton / the money which he taketh euyl away from good men : he ſpendeth moche worſe / and noyſſeth & mayntayneth hoſtes and armies of hoſemen & ſotemen / which do noyſaunce and hurtes to all men , where as Chriſt in the meane ſeaſon dyeth in ſo many thouſades of pooze men / for lacke of foode & clothyng . Neither percepueth he (Opituous caſe) whā he labourerth to take from the ſeculars ſuch thynges / as appertayneth to them : that they lykewyſe agayne of their parte / either are induced or brought in minde through the moſt vngrationouſe exaple of the pope . ozels are conſtrayned & cōpelled through neceſſypte (albeit it is no true neceſſypte) to take away from the eccleſiaſtycall perſons / ſuch goodes & poſſeſſions as do belonge and appertayne vnto them . So than there is no reſpygion or holynes / any where . No vertuouſe lpyng . No drede of god . and (which thyng alſo maketh me to ſheuer & quake now / to reherce it) all wicked & miſcheuouſe ſynners / do take the excuſation of all their ſynnes & byces from the pope . At him / & in his wayters on : is the enſaple of all ſinne and miſchef . ſo that we may ſay with Chaiſa & Paule agaynſt the pope / & thoſe þ be next the pope . By you : the name of god is blaſphemed among the gentils / you þ do teache other men : you do not teache your ſelues / you þ do preache & teache opely / þ no mā ought to ſteale / or to be a thefe : your ſelues are opē robbers you þ do abhorre / hate / & deſpe . Idoles : do your ſelues cōmytte ſacrilege / you which do bragge & boſte / reioyſyng in the lawe / & in the offyce of a byſſhoppe : by the trāſgreſſion & brekyng of the lawe / you do diſhonour god / whiche is the very byſſhoppe / wherfore if the people of Rome / by the reaſon of ouer gret plēty of ryches : loſt that true Romanite / & very manlyneſſe & valyauntneſſe / ſo greatly renoumed and dreedde of all nations . If Salomon alſo through ouer moche aboun

Eſaie . 36 .

At the pope &
his folowers /
do all abomin-
able ſynners
ſetche the en-
ſample / & alſo
the excuſatiō
of their wyet-
ched & nough
ty lye .

Roma . 2 .

Ouer moche
welth & abou-
daunce of ry-
ches deſtroied
the valiaunt-
nes of the Ro-
mayns .

The declamation of Lat. Valla

abundance of riches: fall in to Idolatrye for the
 loue of women: do we nat suppose the same thynges
 to be done: & brought to passe in the pope & other chur-
 hes: And yet we do afterwarde went: & god wolde
 suffice Syluester / to receyue the thynges: that shoulde
 be the matter & occasyon of synnig. I wyl nat suffice
 this wrong & enuie to be done to the most good and
 vertuouse bishoppe: that he shalbe reported & sayde
 to haue receyued & taken empires / kyngdoms / & pro-
 uynces: whiche thynges euen they also are wonte to
 renounce: which desyer / & are in wyl to be made cle-
 kes. Syluester had but a fewe thynges in possession
 & other popes were but small possessioners: whose
 vilage & syght was had in gret worshippe & reuerence
 euen of the enemyes / as for exaple the aspecte of that
 pope Leo / whith dyd put in feare / ye / & ouercome the
 cruell & fere mynde of the barbarouse kinge: whom
 the purfaunce & power of the Romayns / neither was
 able to breake and ouercome: neither yet to make a
 frayde. But the popes of late tyme / that is to wytte /
 flowing in riches & pleasures: seme to labour & enforce
 the selues her vnto only / that as moch as y olde popes
 were wyse & holy: so moche their selues may be both
 wicked and folgyshe / and that with all shamefull bys-
 ces: they may passe and ouercome the excellent and
 commendable vertues of them / what Christen man
 is he: that can suffice these thynges with a patient & a
 quiete mynde: But I in this my fyrste oration / wyl
 nat exhorte & cal vpon princes and peoples / that they
 shulde stoppe and inhibite the pope / whiche cometh
 at large with an vnbridled & vnruely course / and that
 they shulde compelle him / to reste & to abyde within
 his owne boundes or meares: but onely / that they do
 admonish him / for peraduenture now that he shal
 ones haue knowlege of the trouth: he shal of his own
 free will gete hys self forth fro another manes house in
 to his owne house / & from the outrageous waues or
 belawes / & cruell tempestes or stormes: to y porte or ha-
 uen. But if he wyl refuse so to do: thā shal we buckle &
 prepaye our selues / to y making of another oration
 moche

Regu. 2

to aduise y

Syluester and
 the other hos-
 ly popes were
 but small
 possessioners.

Pope Leo
 tye 9.

Our popes of
 late tyme / su-
 dy to be as fer-
 re excellent in
 wickednes / &
 folge: as the
 old popes we-
 re excellent in
 vertue & wyse-
 dome.

The declamation of Lau. Walla

In the church
tablets god
the wisdome of
Walla.

much more ferre & cruell than this. Wolde god that I myghte ones (for there is no thyng) that I do more longe for) se it brought to passe / & that namely by my tosayle: that the pope were only the vicare of Christ and nat also the vicare of the emperour / and that this horrible sayeng may be no more herde. The church fyghteth & warreth agaynst p. perusians. The church fyghteth agaynst the people of Bonony. It is nat the church that fyghteth or warreth agaynst Christe men: but it is the pope that so doth. The church fyghteth agaynst wycked spirites in the regions of the ayre. Than shall the pope both be called: & also be in very dede / an holy father / the father of all men / the father of the church / neither shall he than raise or styre by warres & batayles among Christen men: but he shall alay & ceasse the warres / which haue be stirred by by other: by his apostolike censure & papall maiestie.

Ephe. 6.

the church
tablets god
the wisdome of
Walla.

the church
tablets god
the wisdome of
Walla.

Thus endeth the declamation of Laurence Walla: agaynst the forged pryvilege / called the donation of Constantyne.

The sentence & mynde of Nicholas of Cusa / cardinal by the tytle of saynt Peter ad vincula: concerning the donation of Constantine / which sentence he wrote to the counsell assembled at Basile in the thirde booke p. second cha. of the catholyke concordance & agrement.

O the thyng I can nat passe ouer with sylence: because it is the vndouted & assured sentence / wel nere of all men / that Constantine the emperor byd gyue for euer the emperie of the weste / to Siluester pope of Rome / & to his successours / whyles the worlde shall contynue. And therefore / all though the reason & argument of the vniuersite of the pryncypall regente & gouernour (which is / that it is agaynst ryght & good ordre / that there shuld be two hedes or pryncypal gouernours) did nat conclude: yet neuer thelesse / it shulde be open & euident / that there can be none emperor ryghtfully in the West: excepte he wolde acknowledge his emperie to be Depen-

The sentēce of Nicholas of Cusa

dependently of the pope. I haue serched out this rote as dylgently as I coulde / presupposyng this thynge also to be vndouted and of surety: that Constantyne might haue made such gyfte or graunte / whiche question for al that / neither hath soyled hytherto: neither by all lykelyhode shall euer be solued. But in very trouthe I meruayle exceedyngly / if that thynge be of trouthe & matter in dede: that it is nat founde in autentical booke / and in approued histories. I haue red / and red again / all y^e litters or actes of the emperours / & the histories of the popes of Rome: whiche I coulde fynde. and the workes of saynt Jerom: whiche was moste dylgente / to make collection or gaderinge of all thynges. the workes also of Augustyne / Ambrose / and of dyuerse other very well learned men. I haue touned ouer & ouer agayne / the thynges done in the holy and worshipfull counceils / whiche haue ben syns the counceils called Consiliū nicenū. and yet can I nat fynde any thynge / that doth agre & accorde with those thynges which are red / cōcernyng the sayd donation.

Holy Damasus the pope / is sayde at the instaūce & request of saynte Jerome: to haue set forth the actes and dedes of his predecessours. in whose worke / there is no suche thynge founde: as is commonly reported & talked of Siluester the pope. It is redde in certayne histories: that Constantine was baptized of Siluester. and that the same emperour dyd meruaylously adourne and decke those .iii. churches / of saynt Iohn of saynt Peter / & of saynt Paule / & that he gaue many yerely rentes & reuenues out of certayn percells of lande / in diuerse prouinces & Ilandes: for the mayntenyng & vpholdig of the garnishyng & adournyng of laumpes / of baulme / & of the precious oyntement of pure narde / & of other thynges / of all which thynges a man shall fynde ytticulare mētion made in the booke of popes / But cōcernyng the donation of the tēporall dominion / of the emper of the west: there is nothyng at all therein cōtained. But we rede y^e after Aluysphus kynge of Lombardy had take by force the dominion & gouernaūce of Rauenna & many other places /

The donatid
of Constantyne
is nat founde
in any autentical
booke of
in any approued
histories

Damasus the
pope at saynt
Jeromes request
wyte the actes
of his predecessours:

Aluysphus kynge
of Lombardy

and

The sentēce of Nicholas of Cusa

Steuē the ii.
anoynted pi-
pin the kyng
of Fraunce.

And pope Steuen the secōd of þ name beig a romain
bozne (whose fathers name was Cōstātyne) by many
ambassadours lēte to Astulphus had requyred þ the
places shulde be restozed to þ emperiall dictiō oꝝ do-
minion / & Astulphus wolde nat in any wise cōsent so
to do : Steuen wēt to Pipine / & anoynted him & his
two sōnes kynges. There was also an ambassadour
of þ emperours / lēte with þ same Steuen. & they op-
tayne & gotte graūt of Pipine : that he shulde bryge
Astulphus in mīde / to restoze þ places to the emper.
Pipine lēte ambassadours to Astulphe / but all that
auayled nat. Wherfore bycause he coulde nat by that
meane optayne of Astulphe / þ restytutiō shulde be
made : he made promise to Steuen / þ him selfe wold
by force of armes take them from Astulphe / & that he
wolde gyue thē to saite Peter. Whan þ empours am-
bassadour had herde this : he retourned home agayn /
Pipin pfourmed & fulfyllied those thynges whiche he
had pmyled / and the fourme and maner of this dona-
tiō oꝝ gyfte / is cōtayned in þ actes of þ aforesaid Ste-
uen / & also the particulare names of all þ thynges / whi-
che were geuē. Zacharie the pope did trāslate the mo-
narchie oꝝ kyngdome of Fraunce vnto Pipin depolig-
hys & puttyng downe Hilderike the kyng wherof
it is redde / in the. xv. cause & þ. vi. question. Mins. xx.
& in þ glose Venerabilē. By the reason herof / I sup-
pose. þ Pipin from thēce forth did sauour the apostoli-
ke see. Afterwardes Desiderius kyng of Lombardie
warne & recouered agayn by force of armes / those cy-
ties oꝝ some of thē : in the tyme of Adrian / Adrian the
pope sēdyng many embasadours vnto hi : requyred &
demaūded agayn of him the right of saint Peter / but
he could nat optayne. Than Charlemayne / of whom
Adrian desired ayde and locour : recouered the cyties
& gaue thē agayn to saint Peter / by a solēpne gyfte oꝝ
graūte / which is contayned in the actes of the sayd A-
drian pope. By these thynges it is euēdēte / þ Constā-
tine byd nat gyue the emper to the pope : by the duke
dome of Rayenna / the cyte of Rome / & the west / wher-
of we do rede / that contynually cūyn vntil þ times
afoze

Pope zachari
the first depo-
sed hilderike
the kyng of
fraunce : & trā-
slated the sayd
kyngdome to
pipin / & so the
ryghtfull he-
res.

Desiderius
kyng of lom-
bardie.

Adrian.

Charlemayn
recouered the
cyties agayn :
whiche Desi-
derius with
helpe : & gaue
them to the
pope.

The sentēce of Nicholas of Cusa

aforesayd: the emperours dyd with full ryght possesse Rome/ Rauennas & Marchia/ with many othe places/ eyn so as they had before. And this is proued by the texte in the xcvi. distiction. Bene quide ꝛc. where it is spokē of Patritius which was gouernour of capytaine in the name of kyng Adoacre/ & in the lxiij. distiction. Agatho ꝛc. And in the xcvi. distiction. Cū ad verū ꝛc. And we do rede also/ that ꝑ popes of Rome dyd confesse the empours to be lordes/ for Agatho the pope/ writeth vnto Constantine the empour (which gathered or assēbled the vi. synode & foloweth many yeris after the fyste of that name) how the cyte of Rome is the scruple cyte of the emperour. And Boniface the pope/ writeth to Honorius ꝑ empour/ that him selfe ought to gouerne the benefice of the church of Rome in spiritual thynges: but the emperour ought to gouerne the tēporal thynges/ & in the ende he saith. that Rome is the cyte of his mansuetude or mildenes. This texte is red in the xcij. distiction/ Ecclesiæ. ꝛc. And (that I may speke bryefly) I neuer red the cōtrary in any place: but ꝑ euermore vntyll the tyme of the aforesayde Dyane: the emperour remayned in possession of the places afoze named. Neither coulde I yet any where rede/ ꝑ euer any of the popes presumed to haue any ryght or tytle/ by ꝑ name of saint Peter/ in the sayd places: vntill the tyme of Steuen ꝑ. ii. pope of that name. These thynges I beleue to be true: nat withstādyng ꝑ famous opinion of the contrary/ which is redde in Dalea the xcvi. distiction/ Constantine ꝛc. for without doute if that wrytyng had nat be apocryphe: Gratianus shulde haue founde it in the olde bookes & collections of the canones/ but because he dyd nat fynde it: therfore he did nat put it theri/ wherfore those thynges whiche he hath added afterwarde he put that fayned scripture for chaffe: eyn so as we do fynde many other thynges of the apocryphs wrytyngs to be writte in our bookes/ I haue also founde this writting set forth of lenght/ in a certayn boke: which cōtayneth moche more than that/ which is put in the decrees/ in the place afoze alledged/ & whan I had diligēty examined

Places in the popes lātwe: that make plainly agāst the donatō of Constantine.

Rede that text Cum ad verū.

Agatho the pope/ & Constantine the iiii. assēbled the vi. synode at Constantinople of cccc. byt Monpes.

Bonifac.

The emperours were alwayes in possession of all these thynges neither dyd the popes. euer make any clayme to any pērcels of the afoze the tyme of Dyane and pope Hieron the secōde.

Gratiā knew no thyng of the donatō of Constantine/ & therfore it is nat. put in the olde decrees of his collection.

The sentence of Nicholas of Cusa

ruined it: I fōude of þe selfe same scripture many manysse & euident argumētēs & tokēs of the forgyngē & falsched of the same/ whiche nowe to reherce here: it shulde be bothe tedypouse & also vnprofytable. This also is to be marked/ þe aforesayd wrytyng Cōstatinⁿ &c. which is had in the xvi. distinction: is extract & drawen out of the legēde of saint Siluester/ & he whiche dyd put þe tēte in þe decree: growerth the auctorite of it / by þe approbation & allowyng of Galasius in the Synode/ I pray you loke vpon that approbation in the xv. distinction. Sancta Romana. &c. & it shal be fōude of small strēgth/ for he saith. that the author therof is vnknewē / & yet þe nat^l w^lstandyng/ that it is redde among catholyke mē / & therfore that it may be redde/ what maner ap^lbation this is: euery mā may conside^r/ for there are many histories of saint Siluester. One/ in þe which this is nat^l fōude/ which histori Damalus the pope made. Another/ whose authour is nat^l knowē/ which the tēte saith nat^l to be true: but that it may be redde neither sayth þe tēte/ yet þe this thinge is cōtaryed therein. Also þe olde auncient boke of þe decrees/ hath nat^l þe tēte/ but only vnto þe pagratte Itē decreta romanorū pōtificū. &c. iclusively: And so this pagratte of þe history of Sil. is nat^l fōude in those boke. Also þe fifth vniuersal Synode/ which maketh mētion of þe ap^lbate boke of al lerned authours/ & of þe approued scriptures: moreouer þe Synode of Martin þe pope/ which was made agaynst þe assertiō of the which said þe there was but one wyl in Christ (þe is to wit/ agaynst Paulus & Sergius) renuyng þe approued scriptures/ as I my self haue seen: maketh no mētiō of these histories/ neither yet any othe^r ap^lued autho^r/ or such as is acceptēd for a true autho^r/ þe euer I lawe maketh any mētion of the. I haue redde i Vincent in þe xiiii. boke of histories in the ende/ after the mide of saynt Ierome: þe Cōstatine cruelly dyd sle his wyfe Iustia & his sōne Crispus. And that at þe later ēde of his lyfe/ after þe he had ben baptyzed of Eusebius bysshop of Nichomedia: he declyned to þe heresie of þe Arians/ frō which tyme (as saynt Ierome saith) spoylyng & robbie of churches/ & þe discōrd/ debate/ & strife of the

The chapi. in
the decrees /
Cōstatinⁿ &c.
is take of the
legēde of saint
Siluester.

A goodly and
a worshipfull
approbation.

There ar ma
ny & sondrye
histories of
saint Silue
ster.

Pope
Martin.

Paulus &
Sergius
heretikes

Vincētⁿ.

Constantine.
(as saint Ie
rome sayth)
slewe his wy
fe / & his own
sōne/ and in
his last dayes
fel to the here
sie of the Ar
rians.

The sentēce of Nicholas of Cusa

of the whole world hath folowed / eyn vntyl this p̄sēt
tyme. These thynges manifestly do repugne / & at plat
ly contrarpe to y^e boke of the actes of Siluester / whi
che boke Vincentius saith to haue ben translated out
of Greke by a certayn man / whose name he knoweth
nat / as it is had in the same boke in the ix. chap. who
wolde nat rather gyue credence to Jerome / whiche
is an approued authour: than to y^e wyltyngs of an vn
knownen authour / which therefore are called Apocry
phe scriptures. The terte also / which is ascribed to
Helchiades y^e pope / whiche is had in the .xii. cause &
the first questio. futura .&c. which terte seemeth to be
somwhat agaynst this sayeng: Is nat y^e terte of Hel
chiades / after y^e myde of a certayne glose / & also accor
dyng to y^e very trowth. For Helchiades was p̄decess
our to Siluester / as it appereth in y^e cataloge of the
popes of Rome. And if Constantine was baptizyd of
Siluester / accordig to y^e comune noyle & fame: thā
it is euydēt / that y^e cytle of y^e terte is false. For it ma
keth mētion of y^e baptisme of Constantine. And albeit
that y^e sayd terte had ben writte by Helchiades: yet
coude nat therof any argumēt or p̄ofe be take agaynst
the p̄misses / for it sayth nothig els: but y^e Constantine
forsoke y^e empiāll place of Rome / & graunted it to Pe
ter & to his succellours / that is to say / y^e wherfor
me was y^e empiāll seate: there is now y^e papall see. which
thyge no mā denyeth. And trowth it is / that Constantine
thēperour was in y^e tyme of Helchiades y^e pope / and
that he was thā christen. as it is red in the woordes of
saint Augustin in many places: & namely in y^e epistle
to Glorius & Eufyus / which begunneth in this wise.

Dixit quidā ap̄colus .&c. & this also agreeth wth the
myde of saint Jerome. I haue les also y^e decre of Leo
the pope in y^e synode holde at Rōe / in the subscription
of the bishoppes & clerkes / & of the cytyzens of Rome /
where Leo y^e pope restored to Otto the first / all y^e pla
ces which had ben gūen by y^e kiges / Alwyn / Charles /
& Robertte / to saint Peter. And all y^e sayd places ar na
med in y^e same decre / but ther is no mētion made of y^e
donation of Constantine. In my iugemēt those tertes
cōcernig Constantine: ar apocriphe & of non auctorite.

A.iii.

Anto

Helchiades
p̄decessour
to Siluester.

Constantine
was Christen
in Helchiades
his tyme / af
ter the mynde
of saynt Aug
ustyne.

Leo the .viii.
restored to
Otto all the
landes which
Alwyn Char
les & Robert
had gūen to
the church of
Rome.

The declamation of Zan. Ualla

Antonine p^r archebushoppe of Florence / saith / as here foloweth: in p^r eyghte tyle / the secōde chapitour the eyghte paragralle / of the fyft parte hystoriall,

Letwes
mylde.

The thyrde bout is of the donatiō oꝝ gyft made to the churche by Constātine / of the which donatiō / mētion is made in the decrees / the xcvi. distiction / Constātin⁹. But that chapitour is nat fōūde in the olde & aūciēt boke of the decrees. Therfoze what & how moch he gaue: it is nat very certayne. but neuer the lesse it semeth at the lest wise to be that: which Ludouyke kige of Fraunce & empour / pmyseth vnder othe to Baschalis p^r pope: & to his successours, wherof mētion is made in the lxiij. distiction / Ego Ludouicus. &c. & which Otto the fyft empour of the Germanys / doth confirme to John the pope / in the same distiction / Tibi. &c. But yet euen to this day / it is a great question amonge the Canonistes & lawpers: whether p^r donatiō & gyfte hath holden, which thige the Canonistes do bitterly asseyrme / & the diuynes do moze confirme. And p^r it was no plaine donatiō: but rather a restitution made to the churche of her owne right: for as moch as all thiges are of the dominion of Christ: whose bicare the pope is in erthe. but the other thiges he hath dimpylled & lefte to the tempozall loydes.

Raphaell Volaterrane in the lyfe of great Constātyne: writeth thus / as foloweth.

Of the gyfte oꝝ graūt of Constātine: there is no mētion made in any authours / save onely in the boke of decrees. And p^r the sayd donatiō oꝝ graūt is nat cōtayned in the aūciēt volumes of the olde tyme. Antonie bishop of Flozēce witnesseth in his cronicles

Here endeth the donatiō of Constantine.

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